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students and the security forces, who surrounded the faculty, detained 3 students, and prevented 11 other students from entering the university!

Tension, resentment, and student unrest also prevailed in the universities of Al-Zagazig, Tanta, Banha, Mansurah, and Suez following the intervention of security forces and university guards in the elections and the exclusion of those with ideological and political tendencies from nomination as candidates.

People's Assembly and Alliance member Mahmud Nafi' went to Mansurah University to meet with the university president and officials in order to investigate the reasons for the exclusion of students belonging to Islamic groups from nomination as candidates to the student unions. However, the security forces prevented him from entering the university. Therefore, he submitted a request to the interior and education ministers for the disclosure of information about the facts concerning the two incidents of the exclusion of candidates and his being prevented from meeting with university officials.

The Social Services Faculty at Shubra is still surrounded by large contingents of central security forces, following the faculty dean's decision to suspend classes for 10 days, the huge demonstrations which swept the faculty last week, and the student sit-in to protest the increase in tuition fees from 47 to 117 pounds. Despite the fact that the Al-Azbakiyah district attorney office released the students detained by the security organs, the Interior Ministry objected to the decision to free a number of them, who are so far still in detention. The faculty dean also passed a decision to refer all the students, those freed or those still in detention, who number 60 students, to a disciplinary board on charges of inciting riots and demonstrations, so that a decision can be taken to bar them from nomination as candidates to the student union—elections of which have been postponed indefinitely.

#### Islamic Groups Win Majority

JN301411 Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 27 Nov 87 pp 1, 2

[Jihad 'Abd al-Mun'im and Mahjdi Hilmi dispatch]

[Text] The initial results of the student federations' elections in universities, colleges, and advanced institutes were announced yesterday. Members of Islamic groups won the majority of seats in the committees of all colleges and institutes. The success of the Islamic groups' members was evident at Cairo University, where they won 90 percent of the committees in various colleges. The also won with the same percentage in the Universities of 'Ayn Shams and Asyut. For the first time in the history of student elections the Islamic groups won in Al-Azhar University with 70 percent.

There was a rebaloting last Wednesday because the 50 percent student quorum was not present. The students' boycott of the balloting is considered a protest against continuing the work in accordance with the 1979 regulations which deny the students' federation its objectives.

Tomorrow elections will take place to select separately a secretary and assistant secretary for the committee of each college in preparation for electing the secretary and assistant secretary of each university on Monday.

#### Libya

**Al-Qadhdhafi Addresses General People's Congress**  
LD221745 Tripoli Television Service in Arabic  
0915 GMT 22 Nov 87

[Speech by Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi to the opening session of the General People's Congress at the People's Hall in Tripoli—live]

[Unidentified session chairman] In the name of God. First, it is a great honor to have the leader with us, the spark of the Great 1 September Revolution. [applause] The present generation is very lucky to be able to always hear the guidelines and teachings of the great leader. We are meeting here in the General People's Congress. Although we are meeting in a smaller number, we are not like other parliaments or parliamentary institutions. Each of us carries the resolution of his people's congress and brings it here to formulate it in a manner that will guarantee its inclusion in the general formulation of the resolutions of all the congresses.

The General People's Congress now consists of the secretariats of the General People's Congress, which are 5 in number; the secretariats of the people's congresses and municipalities, which number 65; the secretaries of the branches and their assistants, which number 130; the secretaries of the people's congresses in the municipalities, which number 39; the General People's Committee members, which number 11; the people's committees, which number 130; and the people's congresses abroad.

[Unidentified speaker] [Passage indistinct]

[Chairman] Yes, and the final conferences.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] [Passage indistinct]

[Chairman] Some of the Basic People's Congresses failed to attend because the secretaries of the branches and the assistant secretaries, the secretaries of the branch...[changes thought] They are members of the municipal secretariats.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] In the name of God. At the start, I wish to affirm that my presence here is exceptional. It is not necessary for me to attend; however, I have come to make some remarks, particularly with regard to the

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formulation of the agenda in a manner that will emphasize the people's authority in the people's congresses, as well as some other issues. I mean that I have taken this opportunity of the General People's Congress meeting to formulate the agenda of the people's congresses to stress certain points that could be embodied in the agenda of the people's congresses.

From the beginning, we have said that the way the agenda of the people's congresses or the Basic People's Congresses...[sentence left incomplete] First, the Basic People's Congresses throughout the Jamahiriya meet and begin to formulate their agenda. Every citizen raises his hand at his congress and is given the right to speak. He then proposes anything he wishes. He might say: I believe this and that should take place in the Jamahiriya; our position should be so and so; the domestic and foreign policies should be so and so. In any area, a citizen may raise his hand and make his proposals for forwarding to the people's congresses throughout the Jamahiriya so that they can be studied. The proposal made by any citizen at a Basic People's Congress is discussed first by the people's congress to which this citizen belongs. If approved, it is registered as an item in the agenda proposed by the Basic People's Congress concerned, which is one of about 1,000 or more congresses in the Jamahiriya. Thus, every member of every Basic People's Congress can put forward any proposal to be embodied in the agenda. If his proposal is accepted by his own Basic People's Congress, then it becomes one of the items on the agenda of the Basic People's Congress to which he belongs.

The secretariat of the congress then formulates all the proposals adopted by the Basic People's Congress concerned and carries them here to the People's Hall. This is what is happening today. All the secretaries of the people's congresses are attending this meeting. They have brought with them the proposals of their congresses. At this time, it should...[Al-Qadhafi changes thought] Obviously, these proposals are sent to the secretariat that drafted them. But before they are sent to the General Secretariat, this congress does not know what other congresses have proposed. All these proposals emanate from the General Secretariat, and it seems that they are prepared before the convening of the congress. Then the General People's Congress meets, although it is not essential because the secretariat is able to carry out the drafting of these proposals. Anyway, like what is taking place in this session, each congress secretary has the proposals of his congress, which it believes should be a part of the agenda of the people's congress.

At this meeting, concord among these proposals from the Basic People's Congresses should be reached. In other words, if a citizen who is member of a Basic People's Congress proposes something that could be either adopted or rejected by the Basic People's Congress, then the same thing applies here in that every secretary of a congress puts forth the proposal of his congress, which should be discussed by the secretaries of the congresses

within the General People's Congress. They may reject or adopt the proposal because it will become clear during the debates that a certain proposal has been discussed and implemented. Other congresses may think that a certain proposal is of a regional nature, or that it deals with a specific individual or a particular region, and could be discussed at its appropriate place. Therefore, it is not essential for the proposal to be included in the agenda of the Basic People's Congresses throughout the Jamahiriya.

Any citizen in a Basic People's Congress may raise his hand and ask for the floor. He may say: I believe that this debate should be included on the agenda of this congress and should be submitted to all the people's congresses for adoption; I think that this proposal should be included. The congress discusses this proposal. It may turn it down, saying that this is a limited and personal opinion, influenced by a specific factor, or seen from an inadequate angle. Or the congress may adopt it, and see it as worthy of submission to the Basic People's Congresses. The same thing happens here in the session of the General People's Congress, when every secretary from every people's congress carries his congress' proposals to be placed on the agenda of the Basic People's Congresses in the Jamahiriya. These proposals should be discussed here. The rest of the congresses may object to a proposal on the grounds that it emanates from a particular congress, as the members within the Basic People's Congresses may object to a proposal by a member within the same congress. They also may adopt it.

Sometimes a number of congresses may have the same proposal, which could be included in one single point. There may be a point that was discussed and looked into from various angles by all the people's congresses. When we add up all these views, this point becomes clear. A citizen in the Basic People's Congress can suggest anything without stating that a proposal is in his own interest or in the interest of a certain region. If he thinks that such a proposal is for his own good, then he suggests it even if he says that there is a landslide in a certain river which should be filled in because he sees that this landslide affects his farm. However, the whole Jamahiriya cannot start discussing a landslide on a particular river; this is impossible. When his congress debates this issue, it will tell him: This point concerns us alone. The whole congress may adopt this view and include it on the agenda. When the agenda is put forth here, someone may say that this does not concern us; it does not concern the Jamahiriya. Discuss this issue when you hold a congress of your own. As for the whole Jamahiriya, to discuss a regional matter of particular interest to a specific region is impossible. There are sessions devoted to local issues throughout the year, whereas the final session, which takes place at the end of the year, is devoted to general issues related to the Jamahiriya and its domestic and foreign policies.

Despite the fact that the present Jamahiri society was created by revolutionary force and comes under its control today, it has the right, by virtue of the revolution,

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to run the society as it wishes. It gained the leadership by force as a result of the revolution and not by agreement or reconciliation with other forces, which lost the right they had gained. It merely took this right from them by force. Nevertheless, as of the 6th anniversary of the revolution, the revolutionary force controls society and has the right to steer and mold it in whatever way it wishes. It seized control of society by force and not through agreement with any other side. The revolutionary force became the sole party to lead society. Despite this, the revolutionary force formed the opinion and subsequently proclaimed that as of its 6th anniversary, the leadership of the society under its control should provide it with a popular and Jamahiri leadership and that the transformation would take place democratically.

The revolutionary force, which assumed control of society and seized its leadership by force, had the power to steer society as a dictatorship if it so wished. However, the ideology of the revolutionary force that staged the revolution is as follows: It decided that the transformation from underdevelopment to progress should take place democratically and through the people. Therefore, the basic turning point in the march of the revolution was the 6th anniversary. This requires that the speech be retold so that we can go through it once again. It was the turning point in the construction of popular authority and democracy, and the social aspect on which the democratic and populist system is based.

This confirms the point that I would like to raise at the beginning, a point which has been raised before; namely, that the revolution is a proclamation of freedom. The revolution could have been a proclamation of dictatorship; it could have been a proclamation of a dictatorship for implementing a revolutionary program drawn up by the force that carried out the revolution. However, we have chosen this type; namely, freedom. Instead of being the proclamation of a dictatorship—that is, a dictatorial society led by the revolutionary force in order to implement its program for the sake of which the revolution broke out—the revolution was a proclamation of freedom. The people have become free and, consequently, they carry out what they believe democratically through free will.

Here the revolution became separate from authority. The revolutionary force that carried out the revolution moved outside of the authority structure. By marching on the royalist state, against which the revolution was aimed, the people were able to gain control of all the amenities, the popular congresses, and the popular committees. The popular congresses assumed sovereignty. They are the ones that make the decisions, while the popular committees implement those decisions under the supervision and control of the popular congresses. The revolutionary forces, the bases of which were later expanded, and the revolutionary committees movement have acquired the task of continually instigating the people to exercise authority.

What I would like to emphasize here is that the declaration of freedom should be examined. It is essential to state that if a people become free and do not carry out their responsibilities, then their future is endangered. Up to this day, we are still carried away by the declaration of freedom. We believe that there is somebody upon whom we can rely to achieve what we want. Such a feeling contradicts this declaration of freedom. If you feel that you are free, and you are in fact free, then you feel that you have a responsibility.

If you are a slave, however, then you have no sense of responsibility. The master who has enslaved you assumes responsibility for you and decides your destiny as he likes. If any flaw exists in this, it is the result of the overwhelming feelings of the freedom declaration and its misconception.

Now and then I personally become aware of this fact and I draw attention to the danger of this issue—the fact that the people are free. The declaration of freedom is a reality. We have no desire for authority. We do not want to implement the revolutionary program in a dictatorial way. The people should carry out all the tasks that in the past were performed by a government, a leadership, or official bodies.

Some people may think that these are mere words, but they will pay the price for this afterward. I believe that you have paid the price in a number of areas already as a result of our indifference and disbelief that this revolution is, in fact, a declaration of freedom. Sometimes you have paid dearly because of this and because of the danger that you may have to pay an extremely high price. I stand before you today to emphasize once again the declaration of freedom. [applause]

On the occasion of the festive celebration of the declaration of the people's authority last 2 March in Sabha, I told you something which you thought was said only because of that occasion. This is not true. It was not said mainly because of that occasion. That speech was very serious. I stressed the declaration of freedom. I told you that the Libyan people are free to decide what they deem fit, to live their lives as they wish, even if they desire the return of the monarchy or the republican regime, or the establishment of any form of political regime. I told you that it should not be written about us that we have imposed a specific choice on our people. Personally, my whole task is to ensure that history should not be written to show that I imposed a particular choice on the Libyan people or fit them into a particular mold.

On the contrary, history should show that if there was any mold, I have contributed toward its destruction. If there has been any shackle binding the Libyan people, I have participated in its demolition until the Libyan people have become free. Even if there is a sensitive point about the Green Book, there probably is no one who would dare to criticize it. This is wrong. We should dare to do so and to say no to this point. The Green Book

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is not sacred! What is more, if nothing can be put into practice from the Green Book, then why should we pay attention to it, theoretically speaking? If, in a practical sense, we cannot carry out the dictates of the Green Book or the revolutionary program, then we should not respect the formalities. We should not adhere to formalities if we are unable to adhere to the fundamentals of things. Upon returning to your congresses, I would like you to propose this issue for discussion.

We must no longer hear any citizen say: They have done this and that. They have failed to bring this or that thing about. They have embroiled us in this or that. May God bless them for doing this and that. Let us applaud them for this or that. We must no longer hear this. For who has embroiled you in this or that? Who has brought about this or that? Who has banned this or that? Who should be thanked for doing this or that? We no longer can accept such statements.

You may spend a year, 2 years, or even 3 years discussing the freedom declaration until you are sure that everything is in your hands. If anyone other than the people were to rule, then they should be those who have seized authority by force from the defunct regime. By seizing power by force, they therefore have the muscle to exercise authority. However, since they were convinced and pledged that authority should be vested in the people, there is no one else about whom we should complain. The pronoun they in your statement concerning those who have not brought this or that refers to whom? Who are the ones who have failed to bring about this or that? Who are those whom we want to thank for doing this or that? The pronoun they refers to whom? Who are they?

I want you now to return to your Basic People's Congresses and for these congresses to meet and discuss the question of the declaration of freedom. You should not discuss what this declaration of freedom is and relate what you come up with so that we may discuss it. No. I will tell you simply what the freedom declaration is: It is that you may return and discuss your entire destiny. You may begin from such matters as street-sweeping and determine whether or not it is your responsibility, whether you will entrust the task to a Korean company or to a Libyan company that you form for the purpose, or whether you will sweep the streets yourselves in rotation. You then move from the question of street-sweeping to the question of Aozou.

The freedom declaration means that you are free to determine your destiny. If you accept to concede Aozou, then concede it. Let the United States come and take it and build a base there. Or let the French come and take it. Or let NATO come and take it. Or let the Israelis come and take it. All this is likely to happen, but you must hold yourselves responsible.

Say this: We, the Libyan people, have discussed the matter and have decided to concede Aozou to the enemy alliance. Or you may say: We refuse to concede Aozou to

the enemy alliance because to do so would constitute an extreme threat to the safety and security of Libyan territory, Arab territory, and North Africa. If the Libyan people were to surrender Aozou, they would be serving imperialism by giving it a strategic land mass which it can turn into a base in the African desert and in this place which imperialism never even dreamed of treading. If you say: We will not concede it to the enemy alliance, then you must prepare yourselves for the consequences of your refusal.

Have a look at the Gulf of Sidra. Bring the map. Look at the map and say: We, the Libyan people, with our own free will, have decided to concede the Gulf of Sidra with all the grave consequences this may involve. The one who enters the Gulf of Sidra can split Libya in two and carry out maneuvers inside Libyan territory. Benghazi and Misratah will remain behind him and he will have entered Libyan territory.

Any enemy force that enters the Gulf of Sidra can threaten the oil installations, the oil ports, and the oil fields because they all are situated in the Gulf of Sidra. Where is the oil located? The oil fields, from which we extract oil from beneath the ground, are situated in the area off the Gulf of Sidra. All the pipelines run to the Gulf of Sidra from Briga and Al-Zawiyah to Sidra and Ra's Lanuf. These are all in the Gulf. All the oil runs to these ports, be it from Al-Zawiyah, from Sidra, from Buruyqah, or from Ra's Lanuf. The oil is exported from these ports. The pipelines end at these ports and the oil storage tanks are at these ports. Oil is the only wealth you possess. The factories, the huge factories that rely on oil, are situated at the Gulf of Sidra. The one who enters the Gulf of Sidra can threaten these sensitive establishments, which contain the wealth of the Libyan people, the only source of income for the Libyan people.

You might say that because of its importance, for the reasons I have just related, you want to defend the Gulf of Sidra. You have decided not to concede it; however, you must then be prepared to defend it. You must take into consideration the fact that you and your children might die, not just that your neighbor might die. If you do not want to do so, then do not do so. You are free. It makes no difference to me. To me, it is an assertion of freedom that the people are free to decide to concede the Gulf of Sidra, or that they are free to decide to concede Aozou, and have done so of their own free will.

This is better than when you had a traitorous king or prime minister, Idris al-Sanussi and Mustafa ibn Halim, who sold Libyan territory to foreigners. Following the false independence, Idris al-Sanussi handed Libya to the United States and Britain for them to set up bases.

We thought that we had independence, but then we found the bases. Who signed the agreement to return the bases? Who among us signed the agreement concerning the Al-Mallahah base [former U.S. Wheelus Air Base] or the Al-'Adam base [former British base near Tubruq]? In

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our name they sold our land. Our fathers and forefathers were martyred for the sake of this land; they sacrificed their lives for the sake of its freedom. They sold it without our knowledge. Why? Because our affairs were left to those in authority; namely, Idris al-Sanussi. The Koranic verse—Obey God, the Prophet, and those in authority from among you—was posted everywhere.

What was the result of all that? The result was that we found Libya occupied. We fought the Italians for 20 years in order to prevent them from settling on Libyan territory. But after independence, the Americans, the Italians, and the British came.

You, however, can sign anything of your own free will. You are free to sign anything you want. If the entire Libyan people decide to have foreign bases, that will be great. They then cannot claim that someone sold the land in spite of them and no one will stage a revolution against such a situation because the entire people decided it. You are free. You can sign agreements on bases with the United States after holding discussions about them and finding that the best thing for you would be to have U.S. bases. You can do that. If the United States finds that it is in its interest to have bases in Libya and Libya accepts to have them, then that is all right since it will have been done by you of your own free will. Bring bases from the USSR, conclude a joint defense pact with the USSR, or have bases here or there because the United States threatens us, and you and they will be progressive, anti-imperialist forces. That is fine, provided you all sign such a thing. Then no one can protest. Who will protest?

If you all sign Aozou away, then no one can protest. If you concede the Gulf of Sidra, the same also will hold true. If you decide not to concede it, then that is that. However, you should be ready to implement your decision if you decide not to concede Aozou or the Gulf of Sidra.

I have given you examples, from the lowest level question—street-sweeping—to questions involving the Gulf of Sidra and the Aozou. But there are numerous other questions in between. There are the questions of the clothes you wear, the means of transportation you use, and the food you eat. You have to decide such matters. You say: Who brought these things into the market? Who decided to bring them?

I hold you responsible and ask that after this session has been concluded, the people's congresses meet and continue to meet for a month, 2, 3, or even 4 months until we make sure that all Libyan men and women have met at these congresses and have made the decisions they want. If you say: We want to buy silk only and endorse that, then that is the end of the matter. Take your money and buy silk. Who will carry out the purchase? Those you entrust with this task.

Everyone says that they are not happy with their clothes. They say that our clothes come from Yugoslavia and Romania. If the Yugoslav and Romanian clothes do not satisfy you, then go ahead and bring clothes from France and from Tel Aviv, but you must decide on this. Decide. If you want U.S. or French clothes, then decide on this. Say: We, the free Libyan people, have decided not to wear clothes other than those made in France and the United States. No one can object to this decision. Find out how much they cost and see how much money you have. As the bedouin saying goes: Count your money and act accordingly. See how much money you have and buy the goods you want accordingly.

As for canned products, they are containers with chemicals or agricultural produce in them. Either you cultivate these or you go out and buy them. Calculate, brothers, how much can you cultivate so that you can produce canned food? And how much does it cost you to import from abroad with the money you have?

Where are the cars and the television sets? Well, there is a shortage. Decide how many cars you need. Do you want 250,000 cars? Then decide this and the size of the cars you want. Calculate: 250,000 cars cost how much money. You car dealers, tell us how many million dinars they cost.

[Unidentified voices] [Words indistinct]

[Al-Qadhdhafi] How many million?

[Voices] [Words indistinct]

[Al-Qadhdhafi] That amount is in dinars?

[Voices] [Words indistinct]

[Al-Qadhdhafi] No, tell me how much in dinars.

[Voices] [Words indistinct]

[Al-Qadhdhafi] One-half million dinars? One-half million dinars? What do you mean, 500,000 dinars?

[Voices] [Words indistinct]

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Let one person speak. Let the one from the Treasury speak and tell us. One-half million? One-half million? Why 250,000?

[Voices] [Words indistinct]

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Let only the Treasury man speak and he will tell us.

[Unidentified man] Four hundred million dinars.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Four hundred million dinars. All right, you want 250,000 cars. Simple: We sit at the people's congresses...[changes thought] No, you, yourselves, you

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sit; you go there. This is necessary. You go there and say: Who wants a car? Any Libyan citizen who wants a car, raise your hand. The result will be that 250,000 people will want cars; 250,000 cars at the cost of 400 million dinars.

All right, you ask about the amount of our annual oil income. Let us suppose that our income is 1 billion dinars, of which we would pay 400 million for cars. We are left with 600 million. You would then bring in these 250,000 cars and register their owners—form committees, undertake enquiries, set up offices—do anything to register people in need of cars. Both the car and its price would be there. Pay 250,000 from the oil income for a car. Well, if you think that is economical and beneficial to you, then do it. Who is going to prevent you?

[Unidentified speaker] Not 400 million dinars, but 1 billion.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Well, 1 million dinars [as heard]; all right. Right, he is saying that the cost of 250,000 cars is 1 billion dinars. The oil income is 1 billion dinars. All right, you sit and say: We, the Libyan people as a whole, both men and women, have decided the oil income for 1988—and then you would have to stamp your fingerprints; you would have to sign all the decisions.

You would say: We forfeit our claim to the oil income for 1988 and we devote it to only buying cars. We will use it to buy 250,000 cars. Then in 1988 you will not be able to buy anything but cars, just the 250,000 cars.

However, someone may come and say: This is not feasible. Is it reasonable to use all oil income for 1 year to buy cars? What should be done then? Reduce the number of cars. How much is the oil income? One billion dinars. The cars we need cost one billion. In that case, reduce the number of cars. Someone may say: Let us reduce the number by one-half. How much are you left with? You are left with 500 million dinars.

Would you be able to spend from the 500 million dinars during 1988 while using the other 500 million to buy cars? Someone may say: Yes, we can do that. Then, all right, you sign and the decision goes ahead. Someone else may say: No, this is not feasible; we must further reduce the number of cars. The result might be, for example, 100,000 cars. This is it. You just decide this. When 100,000 cars are bought by 100,000 persons, then no one else would come shouting: Where are the cars? Who stole them? Matters would be fixed; your names would be there along with the number. People would be conscious and aware of what they were doing. Thus, no one would have any reason to protest.

I am making a parenthetical point here: Those in charge of carrying out decisions are not attending the people's congresses. There must be a solution to this. For example, a doctor speaks about his salary or surgery. He has the right to open a personal surgical practice and, at the

same time, to work in the public hospital. He could abandon his work in the public hospital and work in surgery only, devoting his time exclusively to these places. A doctor facing this problem with his income is not found to be attending the Basic People's Congresses. There must be a solution to this issue. Anyone not attending the Basic People's Congresses forfeits his claims; we do not even recognise his documents. He cannot open a surgical practice, and we reject his rights. He would be treated as if he were a foreigner working under contract.

Then we find someone in charge of a public company concerned with public matters—building houses for people, roads, or importing clothes and food. People in charge of carrying out the decisions of the people's congresses do not attend the congress meetings. This is a major flaw. There is an important group which is in charge of important matters and of carrying out the decisions of the people's congresses whose members do not attend people's congress meetings. There must be a solution to this at the level of the General People's Congress and the General People's Committee.

You may find somebody who is ignorant, who has not heard about what the people's congresses have said. Then he involves himself in what is happening, saying: Do this. Do not do that. How did this happen [words indistinct]? Or a student may ask: Why have studies been changed at the university? What happened to the curriculum? Why is there a 5-year curriculum here, or a 4-year one there? Well, these matters have been decided by the people's congresses; they have been decided by the people. This student may not have attended the meetings of the congresses; who then would listen to him? He should go to a people's congress to oppose, support, or debate resolutions.

You may find secretaries of people's committees who do not attend or listen to what is said at congresses. One person is responsible for carrying out the decisions of the popular committees; yet you may find that he is ignorant of a debate that took place concerning a certain subject. Or, for example, you may find another citizen who is not in a responsible executive position but is interested in such questions. Yet he does not attend the people's congresses.

After the congresses end and the debates conclude, after the implementation stage has been reached, and after the pens are put away and the ink has dried, he comes along to protest against something. How can he protest? He was not present when we were making the decisions. I no longer accept this. If anyone protests, we should get hold of him and search him for his card to find out whether he was present or not. If he was not present, no alibi is acceptable. He would be equal to an (?animal) in the field in terms of status. He is not a human being who has status, sovereignty, or is a partner in the decision.

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By God, there are things which exist in Tunisia but which do not exist in Libya. All the things you want to bring into Libya, you bring them in. (?Be present) at the popular congresses; you must (?attend). Then you can say: We want to go to Turkey, Greece, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, and Morocco to buy (?carpets), frankincense, clothes, gold rings, gold. You can name all the things which Libyans go abroad to bring back. You decide. Continuing to remit Libyan money abroad and continuing to travel abroad—if this is something that concerns the economy and is useful for the future and if you approve, then no one can object. Go ahead! All of you can go. But if not, then you should say that this is going to ruin us and must not happen. Say: We are not going to go abroad and we are not going to transfer money abroad. This will ruin us. We are going to stay where we are.

On the other hand, you can say that these things will not harm the economy; they can be imported. You can buy frankincense—buy millions worth. And later, someone will come along and say: Brothers you have spent millions on frankincense from Saudi Arabia; the money has been paid to Saudi Arabia. Is it better to do this, or to save these 5 million for investment in a factory or a big agricultural project or weapons or a school or a mosque or laboratories? Discuss this. Is it better for you to burn frankincense and see it go up in smoke—will you be happy that 5 million have gone up in smoke? Or is it not better to invest it in a factory or an agricultural project?

I can let you applaud and be enthusiastic. I can say: Go and buy and bring back frankincense; no one is going to stop you. Bring in chewing gum, silk, and everything else. Go abroad. How nice. (?May God save us)! Anyone who says such things to you wants to deceive you. He is a charlatan who is after your votes. Someone who wants to become president of a republic or a deputy in parliament would do this. People would applaud him and give him their votes. But afterward, the people who voted for him would find out that their future is ruined.

I do not want your votes, nor do I want to rule you. I do not want anything from you. I want to tell you the truth, which will benefit you in the future. Therefore, I do not tell you what makes you happy today but will make you cry tomorrow. I tell you what makes you cry today but will make you happy tomorrow. This is something rare. It is absent in the Arab world and the world of deceit. All European and political parties devise propaganda which plays on the feelings of the masses. They say: We will do this for you, and that, and so on. Later, there are demonstrations against that government which promised to do certain things for them. If you ask why they promised it, they will tell you that it was election propaganda.

Someone may even go so far as to propose a program saying that he will do certain things for the Jews and that he is on the side of the Israelis. He might at one time have been a friend of the Arabs. When the Arabs come

along and ask how he can say these things, he will tell them: This is just election propaganda; we are appeasing the Jews and those who sympathize with Zionism in order to get their votes when we want to become a deputy, president, or a minister. This is the kind of humbug that is going on today. Governments in the West promise: We will do these things for the workers and for these people and those people; we will do this for the conservatives and for the capitalists and bourgeois. We will renationalize. Someone else says that we will nationalize. Afterward, they do nothing and the antigovernment demonstrations begin. People start to ask: Where are the things that were promised? But it is a forgone conclusion that the promises were merely election propaganda. It is easy for me to dupe a simple man into casting his vote for me; afterward he will protest that I have not fulfilled my promises.

This is like the land of hypocrisy, where they gave someone courage pills. The story goes that this person took the courage pills and then started to make speeches in Egypt, saying: We will kick the British out; we will build a dam; we will reclaim the land. Afterward, they gave him hypocrisy pills and he told them: We will do this for you. People were pleased and they started applauding. They said that there was no better deputy than he since he was going to kick the British out and reclaim the land and build a dam. Then when the pills wore off, he said: What British, what dam, what Nile, and what mud? He said: Is it possible for me to kick out the British or reclaim the land or build a dam? You and the dam can go to hell. I was after your votes.

Well, this is just a fairy tale, but it describes reality. It tells of those who dupe people in order to gain their votes by saying whatever makes them happy.

Who is preventing you from going to Turkey or Greece? [Words indistinct] increase the number of aircraft and have more aircraft; go to Saudi Arabia on pilgrimage every year. Why every year? You can go [words indistinct]. Al-'Umrah [the out of season minor pilgrimage] can be performed every month. Bring whatever you like; do not search them. Then people will begin to say: Oh God, no one is better than this ruler who has left things open. He is laughing at you because he is ruining your life and will make you go begging tomorrow. Then you will wish that he had been strict and made you save your money to use when needed in the future.

I want you to go and be at the people's congresses. I have mobilized all the revolutionary committees. They will mobilize the masses and involve them in declaring their freedom. At the meetings—which will start now and go on for 1, 2, or 3 months—all Libyans, men and women, will meet and discuss all these issues.

In 1988—you will approve anything that will take place in 1988 to show us that the people's authority has been established. We do not want to hear you talk of someone having been absent or of an issue having been missed.



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We do not want to hear anything based on unknowns; everything has to be based on facts—this was organized by so and so, we did it, and we authorized him. Start by noting the things that you lack, what your income is, and then decide. Nothing can be simpler. There is no problem. Petroleum is one source of income. Any of the petroleum people will bring you the accounts. He will tell you how many millions you get per month, per year. Then take a look at your expenditures, your purchases: arms, food, drink, cars, or anything else. Find out how much they total; for example, petroleum is so much. You have petroleum; how much does it total?

It is just like getting your salary: You put 100 dinars in your pocket. What do you want? You want this, that, and the other. This costs 5, that costs 10, that one 5, and that one 30. That is it: 50 dinars. You are left with 50 dinars. What do you want to do with it? That is right: Set it aside; save it [words indistinct]. Let's buy poultry, live-stock [words indistinct] sewing machine for the house. Do your accounting. It is up to you to [words indistinct] your family and future.

It amounts to something like: Give me the money and here is the oil. The person takes the oil and gives you the money. How does this take place? Here is the oil and give me the money. Yes, he who has oil has money. Then what do you tell him? You say: Please give me what you have and here is the money [words indistinct]. What does the one with oil end up with? Zero. This is exactly what happens. What would the other one have? He has taken the oil and the money which he has given you. That is it; this is exactly the situation when you import. You give them oil and they give you money. And then you give them the money back and they give you items that are derived from oil. When you ask where is the [words indistinct] this is manufactured from your oil [words indistinct].

This does not mean that Libya is experiencing shortages or that it is in a state of poverty. On the contrary, this is a rich country; it is the cheapest country in the world. Libyans do not have great needs and there are no problems recurring every year. It does not mean that we have an economic problem like other countries. On the contrary, you have a rich country and you are rich. However, we are not talking about money; you have stacks of money and oil is plentiful and will last dozens of years. There are also resources other than oil; there is water.

This is what we are talking about: We are talking about people's democracy. We are talking about people's authority. Whenever someone takes stock of his funds, people think that there is a shortage of money and oil. Oil is as abundant as water, and there is money. There is absolutely no economic crisis in Libya. Just look at the countries with economic crises. People eat out of garbage cans. A rich person puts his garbage can outside his house and later finds a family eating out of it. They have a crisis. There are those who live in pipes; a family may

live in a pipe which has not been buried in the ground. There are marriages and births in these pipes—sewage and road maintenance pipes in which we find cats and rats here. In other countries you find human beings in them. They have a crisis. Even in the United States, there are 3 million citizens living on the pavement. They sleep on the pavement; they have no homes. They are on the pavement from night until morning. Three million—that is a town or two. Those people have a crisis. There were people in France who died of the cold. They had no money to pay the gas company for gas; the company cut off their supply and they died. Forty families were found frozen in their homes. This is a crisis. They had no money to pay for the gas, so the company cut off their supply.

You can see for yourselves that people are dying in the streets of other countries; they are dying from hunger. They are dying in the streets and they are swept to the graveyard or to the crematorium. There are people who cannot find anything to eat, who are not choosy about what they eat or what clothes they wear. Our present problem is what shall we wear—shall we wear silk or nylon? This is our crisis, as you can see. It is a matter of desire. That man is sitting naked in the cold and says: I will wear canvas if I can find some. He says: Anything I find I will eat or I will starve to death. While we say: Shall we eat wheat or shall we eat flour? This is our problem; a choice between one thing or another, while for them it is a choice between life and death.

I am not talking about money, petroleum, or anything else; you have those things, thanks be to Allah. I am talking about the people's authority. It could have been a grave crisis had someone assumed power for himself. And as there is no crisis, we gain the people's authority; we gain democracy. You do not need me or any of my colleagues. What do you want us for? You haven't a single crisis, so we want you to do without us and know that you are free.

This does not mean accepting someone else to replace me. No. In that case we will fight him. If someone has to rule, then we are more entitled to do so. Either the people rule or we do; and as long as we have decided not to rule, then only the people can rule. This is the reason why we sometimes eliminate somebody—because he intends to rule the people. Therefore, we confront him and bodily eliminate him, for either the people or the group which carried out the revolution should rule. As long as those who carried out the revolution and who have the right to rule do not want to do so, there is no place for any tramp who comes late and asks: Where is my share? What has this tramp got to do with it? When the Italians filled Tripoli, where were you? When the British filled the country, where were you? When the Americans had five bases, where were you? And when treason, reaction, and decay were rampant and the oil was flowing to the United States, where were you? Now you come and find it cool and nice and you want to rule. Such people must be beheaded. This is what makes us strong enough to



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show it on television. Others execute someone, run him over with a car, or poison him. We do not do that. When we execute someone, we do it on television. We told the revolutionary committees to call out the masses to conferences in the open air and to put the gallows in a field without police or anything else. Why? Because those individuals had intended to rule the people; but that is impossible. This people either rules itself or we who carried out the revolution should rule.

And because we have decided not to rule, we will not allow anyone else to rule the people. We will intervene. Anyone who contemplates ruling the people we will execute in a field before the entire world without fear. And if we are asked why we eliminated him, we will answer: Because he was a power-grabber intending to rule the people. Where was he during the 10 years when we were underground and our lives were threatened and we were struggling to ward off death? Where were you? Now we have expelled the foreign bases from Libya, the U.S. and the British ones; we have expelled the Italians and the monarchy forces; and we have recovered the petroleum and built housing, roads, and agricultural and industrial projects. And now you come to rule all that? God forbid.

What kind of fool would let you rule? Of course we will execute you. And anyone in the future who conspires against the people's authority, we will execute in a field without mercy or compassion. Let everyone hear this and let those present tell those who are absent. We make this statement because we exposed ourselves to danger and to death. We, who expelled colonialism and who liberated the country, refuse to rule; but let the people rule. Now, when someone else comes along and says that he wants to rule the Libyan people, is that possible? This is our stand and you are responsible to yourselves [words indistinct].

The agricultural land which I see you are not concerned about is your future. The petroleum that you have should build agriculture and a future for your children. However, you can decide of your own free will what to do. If, for example, you have decided to disregard and neglect the arable land, then you are free to say that we Libyans, male and female, have freely decided to disregard and neglect the agricultural land and let be what may. You sign that decision. So, when tomorrow we find someone cutting down palm trees or olive trees in order to build a shop or a playground to be rented to a foreign company, no one should object. The people decided to forego agricultural land and to get rid of agriculture altogether. People are trying to live without agriculture; they are free. All very nice, thank God. This is freedom!

Once you decide that he who cuts down an olive tree should have his hand amputated, that is it. The day after you see on television someone having his hand amputated, you will not say: How barbaric and savage! No, because this would be sacred social legislation. Whatever the people creates is sacred. The people say that he who

cuts down an olive or palm tree will have his hand cut off. You! What is this palm tree you are cutting down? He replies: This is my palm tree on my own land. Your palm tree and land are part of the Libyan land and part of our wealth, and we are not as inattentive as some people to really let you cut your trees down on the pretext that they belong to you. It is not your plantation; the land belongs to all. Suppose you only have 1 palm tree in front of your home, or 10 palm trees, which is enough to supply your family, and you cut them down and replace them with a house and then you seek dates or (?sweets) from abroad, while we (?thought) you would be able to be self-sufficient with those 10 palm trees. This is a sacred tree, rare in this world. This palm tree is better than you, you ignorant enemy of the homeland and the future. This palm tree is as good as 100 trees and will provide for three generations. It would be better to sacrifice you as an individual. Kill him. Kill him (?instead) of the palm tree.

We kill him instead, and we announce it on the air that today a person was killed in Sug al-Jum'a because he cut down a palm tree, a sacred palm tree. If people find someone who has killed a cow, they can execute him because cows are sacred. Not because the cow is God, but because the cow provides meat and milk and can give life. Thus, it becomes sacred. The palm tree is sacred; the olive tree is sacred; the female camel is sacred. Yes, the camel which you bring fodder to, which lives on Saharan grass, which weighs more and has more meat than any other animal, which has milk, which can be used for transport and for plowing, is sacred.

How can you kill a camel? All these things are decided by you. You decide these things. Decide and sign them: Things pertaining to the person who kills camels and sheep, cuts down palm trees, cuts down olive trees to plant peppers instead or tomatoes or peanuts because these have quicker monetary returns. That's it, then. We will not work for the future; we decided that we do not want a future. We want peanuts. Then you can plant peanuts.

No, we have decided to build our future, to plant palm trees and olive trees, and to cultivate the land. He who wants to harm this will have his hand cut off.

Everything, then, will be public. When we cut off someone's hand or kill him, he will have known when he cut down the palm tree that he would be executed under it, even if it was his.

Take a look. See the free people, see the impact of oil, see the colonialist culture, see the legacy of the exploitive private sector, the old era, the middlemen, the contractors and the legacy of their customs and traditions. Go and see. The building in which everything is imported from abroad is erected on palm trees. Should the palm

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trees from which we can live be carelessly cut down and a palace be built on them and everything in it be imported from abroad? Is this building our future and our children's future?

This is the enemy. What more can colonialism do than this? More than a people which cuts down palm trees, olive trees, and spoils agricultural lands to buy things imported from colonialist countries. As I have said: Take oil, give me money. Once you are given money, you ask for glass, ceramic, tiles, and marble and give that money. Eat those tiles and marble now. Give me a saw to cut down a palm tree; sell it to me. They are happy now making saws. Anything that will cut agriculture and kill it will be quickly brought to you. You can try them. I found electric saws in the Jabal al-Akhdhar. I found a green mountain, which I saw was bare between Soussa and Ras al-Hilal. I asked about the bare spot on the green mountain. They said: It is due to people who have electric saws to cut trees and make coal. Instead of saying: No, the green mountain is ours; we do not want it to become bare [words indistinct]. Who decided this? In which congress? Where is the people's committee? Where are the forest guards who can arrest these people and have them executed in conformity with the laws that have been passed. Fine, you can stay like that. You will be blamed for it. Is it a repressive government which said to do this? Is it colonialism which prevented us from being in charge of our own affairs? Blame yourselves. The revolutionary program is one thing, and the declaration of freedom is another. If we govern in a dictatorial way, then we would implement the revolutionary program that we are continuously defending. When we declare freedom, you have before you the revolutionary program, which you have (?to implement) properly. That is all I can say. You can implement the revolutionary program, or you cannot implement it.

If you implement the revolutionary program, some might say: All right, dictatorially we have to implement the revolutionary program. All revolutions have passed through dictatorial stages and have executed, imprisoned, and exiled people in order to implement their revolutionary programs. This situation could arise if our convictions were dictatorial.

But we are essentially democratic. I mean that we have believed in freedom and in the authority of the people from the very beginning. This is the first point. Second, the time for dictatorship has passed. If I said from the very first day, upon declaring the revolution, that there will be a military dictatorship until the revolutionary program was implemented, that would have been reasonable. But to come now and declare myself a dictator—this cannot be. You have to look for another dictator. If you wish to implement a dictatorial regime, then look for a dictator. I will not be a dictator.

I have people now who do not care about things. I can impose them on you. If you come to me and say: We want a dictator. O Mu'ammarr, please help us. Nominate

some people to rule us with fire to implement the revolutionary program. We know some and could bring them.

There are things I could administer by myself, but I am reluctant and I cannot do so. [Words indistinct] they call me Father Mu'ammarr. All these things prevent me from becoming a dictator. Someone has taken bribery [words indistinct]. They say here: Father Mu'ammarr has come. Can I take his tractor after that? What I mean is that I am no longer fit to be a dictator. [applause] Either you ask me to find you a dictator or you implement your program by yourselves, saying: He has left us with the revolutionary program and told us to implement or not to implement it as we wish. This is true. I want the revolutionary program to be implemented democratically through the people and not through me.

The program provides for placing all authority, wealth, and arms in the hands of the people for barter, for elementary home education, for freedom of education, for autonomous rule, for revolutionary professionals, for teacher-employee relations, for the new educational structure, for the abolition of drivers and secretaries, for the abolition of servants, for the reorganization of the coastal strip, for the redistribution of farms—the praise of which we sang for so many years, and for cultivation of the coastal line. The program also provides for the Jamahiri parks, work by rotation, and organized collective work. You should review what I said at the Al-Zawiyah street conference. The program also provides for collective ownership and family self-sufficiency and even state self-sufficiency. It also provides for shutting off the oil and replacing it by other things. Now you rely on oil alone. But if you shut it off, you can depend on other things. The oil could be a reserve.

The program also contains what I have said about the dialogue on exploitation, hiring, and barter. You must shut the door of exploitation, since you have the opportunity to become rich, in order to become an industrial and strong power. Quickly shut the door of excessive consumption. The program also provides for the abolition of trifling vocations. I cannot understand how a strong man can go around selling roses, unless he has a rose nursery and this is his work. But for someone to go selling roses to another who then goes and stands at the Martyrs' Square to sell roses—this should be banned. Women can work in a textile factory, in agriculture, in the fields of health and education, but not go selling as vendors in the street. This is something we cannot accept. A people which have such things cannot forge its way to the future in the present age, the age of the atom and the arming of space and the laser. The woman who goes selling in the street can, for instance, organize the municipality garden. She can work in a coffeeshop. You say no, she is a decent woman; but how can she be when she is sitting on the pavement? We no longer can say that she is behaving decently. If a woman goes to work as a ticket collector on a bus, they say: How can a woman do such a work? Is it better to sit on the pavement?

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The revolutionary program provides for offer to be according to need and not according to demand. This is because demands have no aid. It would be wrong for offer to be according to demand, for then you would ask for impossible things. You may ask for manna. There is in Iraq a substance which they call manna. The demand has no limits. Offer must be according to need. You need clothes, you bring clothes. You need food, you bring food. You need transport, you bring transport. But demand could be limitless.

I am saying this because the Libyans still have an opportunity to save huge wealth which they can use to build their future, and thus benefit themselves and the Arab nation. But you can easily and quickly squander what you have and thus benefit neither yourselves nor your nation. You become just one more zero among zeroes.

This revolutionary program contains issues about which we have spoken, such as closing the door of consumption, trifling jobs, offer according to need, and the creation of consumer societies, which are an exploitive form of trade. Why should we cover up things? If the public markets fail, let them fail and let them go to hell.

We start with consumer associations. We ask people: What sector are you working in? They answer: We work in the insurance company. Well then: Set up a consumer society of the insurance company. All those working in the insurance company have a shop specifically for them where they buy things, the property of their company. There is nothing difficult in this. And so on and so forth. You ask people: Where do you work? They answer: We work in the Bukammash complex. This is it: Form a market, a consumer society for the workers of the Bukammash chemical complex. You would not then need another shop, nor would you need a failing public market. Start in this manner. With regard to the customs men: They can form a consumer society for the customs men or for forestry protection men, for the workers in municipal security, if they exist. I am mentioning these on purpose because these organs are important but do not exist. How is it that there is no municipal guard, a health guard that checks on the vegetables sold in the streets, the fruit market laid in the public street and blocking this street?

How can a public street be closed? If somebody wants to go to Bennina, Barsis, or to Al-Aziziyah one finds the rapid expressway, that cost 20 million, containing watermelons, and oranges—right in the public road. Cars are supposed to stay away, and tents are erected in the road and their owners are socializing. Things must be organized. There should be guardsmen. Rotten watermelons must not be offered for sale. A coffeeshop must be closed down if need be. Where is the forestry guard service? Where is the guard to arrest the one who fells a tree, and to check on the one who has fenced land and abandoned it? I have written in the Green Book that unexploited land must be confiscated. Land that is unexploited must

be confiscated from its owner forthwith. One cannot say: This is my farm, the property of my father. No, either you live off of it or I live off of it. There may even be fighting over such land.

Land is the property of all. It belongs to anyone exploiting it to fulfill his needs, with his own effort, without exploiting others. Any Libyan passing by a farm with unexploited land, fertile land, may look for its owner and say to him: Look, I give you a week. Either I find this to be a farm from which you and your family draw a living or I and my family will come bringing sticks, axes, and knives. We will then fight for it and take it by force because the land belongs to all Libyans. Perhaps my great grandfather is buried in this land where you are now.

You have the right to do this. If you pass by a farm abandoned by its owner, you ask: Where is the owner of the farm? Why are the palm trees abandoned? They would say: Their owner has money, or something else. That is it. The day after, you and your family come and occupy the farm. Let there be problems of this kind. This is an invitation for all of you to go into rebellion. All those who have no farms, the disinherited, those who have knives and sticks, ought to march on the land abandoned by its owners because they are rich or have two other farms, or get salaries, or other incomes. Let them take over the land. Thus, everyone will be obliged to look after his own land. [applause]

The revolutionary program, which is based on the fact that power, resources, and arms are in the hands of the people, has been debated. It has been debated in the sixth speech [as heard] and the speech of the 11th anniversary of the 1st of September Revolution. You can review it. We can review it; the 11th anniversary of the revolution. The program contains a pledge of what the Libyan people should do toward the Palestinian resistance, Syria, the Arab nation, the poor Arab peoples. So long as you have money to spare, and you go to Turkey, Greece, and Saudi Arabia to spend it... [Al-Qadhdhafi changes thought] Instead of making Saudi Arabia benefit from this money, that rich state which is doing favors for the United States itself. [sentence as heard] Saudi Arabia is rich, thanks be to God, and it gives charity to the United States. Alms are for the poor and the needy, those who administer the charity funds, those whose hearts have been reconciled to the truth, those in bondage, and for wayfarers. [Koranic verse] Does this apply to the United States? Perhaps it does belong to the poor, those in bondage, those who administer the charity funds, those whose hearts have been reconciled to the truth. Perhaps the United States will enter Islam and come among those whose hearts have been reconciled to the truth. True, the relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia is quite old and secret, and perhaps the Americans will enter Islam. For this reason Saudi Arabia is giving them billions.

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When you go with your money to buy incense, saying that it comes from Mecca, you should realize that it does not really come from Mecca. It is bought from India, from Indonesia, from Madagascar. Go to India and to Indonesia and buy incense. Why should you get it from Saudi Arabia? They claim that the incense originates from Mecca. No, there is no incense in Mecca; there are Americans there. Such incense brought from Saudi Arabia is perfidious and dirty. If you bring something from Saudi Arabia it means that such a thing is stained, stained by the Americans. There should not be Americans in the sacred land; neither their aircraft, nor their ships, nor their bases, nor their experts, nor their militiamen, nothing, nor their intelligence.

But the United States is fully present in Saudi Arabia. The things you bring from Saudi Arabia are germ-ridden. The frankincense brought from holy Mecca is in fact brought from under the feet of the Americans. Saudi Arabia has itself bought it from another country. What has brought me to this subject? If you are to spend money on buying these things, you had better give it to the Palestinian resistance, to the Lebanese nationalist movement; give it to Syria, to Yemen which is poor, to Mauritania, to Tunisia.

Do you really have money to spare to buy superfluous things? Well, you might as well give it to your brethren. You should [words indistinct] the paragraph included in the speech of the 11th anniversary of the revolution. This is among the revolutionary program which you will remember and discuss during the debates of the people's congresses and then perhaps carry out. It is not enough to give \$100,000; no, you should offer 1 billion. You ought to say: One quarter of Libya's yearly income is to be given to the Palestinian resistance. This is if you want to fight instead of shouting: Palestine, Palestine. Give them a quarter of your income and see what happens, or give it to Syria, or to Tunisia.

It is a neighboring country which is (?an extension to yours). It has rid itself of the defunct era. Now they have a new era. You give them a quarter of the Libyan income. It is a surplus; you do not need it. Do a good turn to your Arab nation, for maybe one day it will repay you, if you become poor or are fighting or in need of something. Why this tight-fistedness and meanness? Instead of offering to the Palestinian resistance 100,000 or 4,000, you should say: Here are 100 million or 1 billion. Change it and give Syria 1 billion all at once instead of every month.

This is part of the revolutionary program. We were saying that the Jamahiriya is a state for the Arabs. What does it mean to say the state for the Arabs? It means that Arabs would work and live in it without having to enter it with passports. (?Anyone who objected to them) should do their (?job himself). You were not able to do (?the job), and at the same time (?you are complaining.) If I bring in a doctor from the Arab countries and tell him to be a revolutionary doctor, you would see how a

revolutionary doctor should be. If not this, then let us bring in an agricultural guide from the Arab countries and tell him that he is the revolutionary guide; you would see how he would work. By God, he would start by moving about on foot or on bicycle or on a donkey or a horse. He would go everywhere and teach the peasants and the people. As for the doctor, he would see the people in the street and start telling some: You should go to a hospital; and you, go and have an X-ray; you go and have rest of some sort; you are anemic or you have bilharzia. How long have we been saying that the revolutionary vocationalist should be part of the revolutionary program? Where is this revolutionary vocationalist?

That is it. If you cannot manage it, let the Arabs come and manage it. Bring in Egyptians to run agriculture. Bring 1 million Egyptians. Bring 1 million Syrians and 1 million Lebanese. Bring them and let them live in Libya. You would see how they would run agriculture; you would see the palm trees and olive trees which you are chopping down to turn into charcoal.

I am still insistent on bartering as one of the basic things. This program ends by abolishing money. But no one is going to impose it on you. If you open a savings bank, what happens? The underdeveloped and colonized people who have been made to mistrust everything by colonialism—may God destroy it—made us have no confidence in anything or in a bank.

Actually, when one of you has 100 dinars he does not deposit that sum in a bank. He says: I do not know who controls this bank; tomorrow someone may come and seize it. The thing is that this is what we have become accustomed to. You should turn the savings bank into one that is controlled by Libyans. Extra keys should be cut and all the people who have money deposited should each have one copy. This is in order to be certain that (?he has access). You have a bank which is called a savings bank. You know where it is and where its branches are and if we want to control it we ourselves appoint people to run it, people in whom we have confidence. It is we who guard it [words indistinct]. Libyans who possess 1 billion dinars kept in their homes should deposit that money in this bank.

You should have your own bank, a bank that you can guard yourselves, whose keys you will have, and in which you have confidence. You, yourselves, can appoint the people who run it. Then the bank will not belong to the government. Let us suppose that there is a government—let us suppose there is an imaginary government. We do not want this government to have its hand in the savings bank. Where does the Libyan put his money? He would put it in this bank. But he is not sure if it is a government bank. Where is our own bank? Here it is. Who runs it? Someone. No, my neighbor's son is nice and I want him to be an employee in the bank. Why? Suppose he says that if he deposits 1,000 dinars he wants to be sure that the money is looked after by his cousin or his neighbor's son.

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That is the point. Each branch in each area where there is a savings bank should have officials and guards who are appointed by the people themselves, then they can deposit their money in it. This is quite right. Who has confidence in a bank that is situated along the seashore? The Americans or the (?Jews) might come and seize it. We can never trust it. You should not put your money in a bank that belongs to (?the government).

That is right. Have a bank that belongs to you. As for state banks, we must have nothing to do with them. Who knows who might come and seize them tomorrow and take the money in them?

When I talk about self-administration, I mean to say that everyone should clean his own house, office, or yard. And when I say that an official or doctor should clean his own office instead of someone else, this is what I mean. When I say that chauffeurs should be abolished in this country, that everyone should drive his own car, and when I say that there should be no secretaries—man or woman—and when I refer to freedom of education, I mean anyone who has a workshop should have a group of pupils so that he can teach them there. When I say officials should also teach one lesson at a kindergarten, primary, or secondary school; and when we say that as part of the revolutionary program 400,000 women should take the place of 400,000 men, and when we say that unimportant crafts should be closed down, like those who work on the radio or who sell roses, what do we mean by all these things? We mean we should save a huge amount of manpower.

What we mean by that is that we should save an enormous amount of human energy, which is very badly needed in a country with a small population and a large area and with serious tasks and imposed challenges. Someone might ask on what grounds you are ruining his shop. He is only selling (?tobacco), so let him alone. Another example is someone who runs a coffee shop—when we say a coffee shop, it means you come in, drink, pay, and leave. Newspapers should be left in the street. If it was stolen once, twice, three times, or four times, it will not be after 10 years, it will be lying in the street. [sentence as heard]

When we say you should drive your car yourself, it means there should be no driver who makes his living in this way. The janitor who cleans the office we work in also receives wages and makes his living that way. This is a superficial view of someone illiterate who did not understand what I have said. When each of us drives his car himself, cleans his own office, cleans his street himself, and when there are no more people sitting in cafes, in shops or at the road side selling something, male or female, it will mean we have saved manpower as if it had sprung from the ground; and when it actually springs from the ground, you yourselves will ask where all those people have been. They were absorbed by trivial and unproductive jobs. And of course, production will increase, the land will become green, the factories will

start to run at full capacity. Every factory is now running at one-quarter of its capacity. Why? Where are the other three-quarters? There are no people, is the answer. No, the people are there, but where? They are sitting in the radio station, in the cafes, or selling flowers; they are drivers, secretaries and empty [words indistinct] and those sitting idle cross-legged. Gather all those people sitting with their legs crossed.

Brothers, we have not yet reached the stage arrived at by Europe, so that you can cross your legs. If you sit with your legs crossed now, you will die. It is not the time for it yet. At present you must be occupied with mobilization and with progress or else we will be finished.

There is a terrible race between the nations. Yesterday man was on Earth, today he is on the moon [words indistinct] and tomorrow will go to Mercury. [Words indistinct] look at the race between them. They built a propelled aircraft that crossed the ocean in 20 hours; then a jet aircraft in 7 hours; then they manufactured supersonic aircraft to cross it in 2 hours. All this separates us in terms of progress. The consequence is that you have to run fast, breathing heavily with open mouth, running behind. They have invented the telephone while you branded that as magic. They manufactured the radio, the television, and the recorder, and so on. You are befuddled this way, despite the fact that these products are made and managed by people like you, but not sitting idle or doing trivial things.

People of the Third World are basking in the sun. Human potential—man created by God to be his successor on earth—is sitting sunbathing. What sort of life is this? How could we demand a better life? [passage indistinct]

Someone might claim that these are services. Very well, let them be services, but it would be far better if we took he who sits by the roadside selling trivial things and put him elsewhere to be a barber. Then we really can say that what he is doing is a needed service.

I have before me a lot of data about the culture of colonialism. The Turks, the Italians, the English—all of them taught us the same thing and sought to keep us unimportant people, like the red Indians whom they scattered and forced to live on reservations. They intended the same for Germany, because they are a giant people and they wanted to scatter them like the red Indians. The red Indians, the Arabs, the Germans, and the Japanese are mighty powers they intend to rid themselves of. International imperialism seeks to eliminate the vital power of the world by teaching us these trivial things. Here you are, they say, test this; it is sweet and nice and you will get addicted to it so that we can supply you with more. [passage indistinct]

They are teaching us to drink wine in Libya. By the way, there is a law stipulating that anyone who drinks cannot assume responsibility. One of the factors that spoiled

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things for us was the fact that many of those who drink were in positions of responsibility—they drink at night and (?mess) up during the day. In all the countries of the world, he who drinks cannot assume responsibility. You have seen that in the United States there was a judge who admitted that in his youth he had used hashish once; they said that was enough, that he cannot be appointed as a judge. Rightly, judges must not drink, and a person of responsibility must not drink, smoke hashish, or play cards. Someone who in the morning has to think about an agricultural, industrial, administrative, educational, or health project cannot drink or play cards at night. It is not forbidden, no. It is a matter of his health if he wants to drink or play cards. We are not saying it is prohibited; that is unfair, [words indistinct] but he will not assume responsibility. The person will assume responsibility who sleeps at night and wakes up fresh and rested in the morning, spending the night examining the files and thinking of his project. It is precarious for someone deciding the fate of people in the morning to have spent the night playing cards or drinking [words indistinct].

That is why you find a great deal of imbalance resulting from these cases. Even in the rotten United States, a judge who had hashish once in his life was denied his appointment. Indeed, how can a judge be a drinker of alcohol? They asked him: Have you ever drunk alcohol? He said yes, once. They said that is enough; you drank it once and you would return to it again; you might pass your judgments while drunk. This matter is treated within a law which you passed long ago and it must be implemented.

The people's security, the armed people, and the producing and combatant cities are all included in the revolutionary program. You will debate all of these and decide on [words indistinct]. I have told you that when we say close the door of consumption, it is in order to save money that will be useful for you in managing future consumption. And when I tell you to close the door of trivial jobs, it is to create a giant human force with which you can produce something useful.

Brothers, we are a people living in a continent of 2 million square km with so few people and with all of these challenges from the north, south, and everywhere. How could our circumstances allow us to sit with our legs crossed, or allow men and women to sit in these trivial jobs?

There are three strategic things and we are going to discuss two of them. One is the great man-made river, a strategic factor which is paralleled by the fortifications on the coast. You pay as much money for the coastal fortifications as for the great man-made river. A strategic factor after the great man-made river is the fortifications on the coast; and a strategic factor after the fortifications on the coast is the setting up of the systems of dams and cisterns from home to the river, all along the area where rain falls, from the western mountain to the green mountain, passing by the central region. This is an act of

civilization, an act of progress. Every single drop of water from heaven must be exploited. It should neither go to the sea nor sink into the ground. We will collect it in a utensil and then make use of it either as drinking water or for irrigation. You will then see the huge quantities of water which will be available to you. It will be as if you possessed the Nile River, if you make this historic strategic network. The Romans made something similar in past eras when they colonized North Africa.

This would cost money. Look at the money that goes to Turkey, Greece, Italy, Saudi Arabia, and for trivial things, and see for yourself what is more important. Which is more important: Is it these trivial things you bring from abroad or a network of dams that build the future, the fortifications on the coast, and the great man-made river? Compare all these things. I am not telling you anything. You just compare them. When you leave here, convene the people's congresses right away; and any Libyan who does not attend should be put on the record so that he will not have the right to speak later. Even if we reduce something, he will not be able to come and say: Why have you reduced this or that? We will tell him: You did not attend so we will not discuss it with you. We have decided and that is it.

When I speak about education at home or freedom of education, this would save us thousands of people. It saves us millions—let those in the know calculate it for you at your congresses. If all primary education is done at home, when this is done at home, then seriousness will come into the family. Now perhaps a quarter of the Libyan families live in ivory towers. At home the only thing they do is watch video cassettes and other trivialities. We must involve them in this: They must teach their children.

Besides, when you teach your children their primary education at home this does not mean working with a child from morning to nightfall. This is not necessary. It would be enough to give him one or two sessions a week. What matters is that after a number of years he will absorb his primary education. Why should family life be trivial and most urban Libyan families have a trivial life? As soon as they have children, that is it: take him to the nursery, take him to the primary school. No, teach him yourself. Such families have [words indistinct] at home, no sewing machine; they do not work; they do not train; they do not sweat. They are useless. Why should we teach their children?

There may be families where all their members work, becoming tired, earning their bread, and taking part in making progress. In this case, we will teach the children of such families. Yes, we will build a school for them. As far as you are concerned, just put the factories into full production. A factory with 4 workers may function with just 1 worker, and a factory with 400 hundred may work with just 100. Then take away 300 workers and (?put) them in other factories.

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These are two new projects: the network of dams and cisterns. In winter, homes must collect the water which will be drunk in summer, until dams everywhere [words indistinct]. And when all the unemployed women replace men, then we save almost half a million men. All factories, offices, hospitals, and schools must be administered by women in a struggling country like this, a country that ought to be an example, a model, the first Jamahiriya, the state of the masses, a country with responsibilities.

Why does the United States drop its bombs on us? Because we are unifying the Arab nation, liberating Palestine, and realizing the dignity of this humiliated nation. Then how can we declare the fight and stand idly by? This gives value to our lives; otherwise, what value would they have? Reports say 2,000 Libyans have died in road accidents. Who mourns them? If it was said 2,000 died in a battle, 2,000 died for the liberation of Palestine, 2,000 died in the Gulf of Sidra, then all the world would treasure their memories—huge numbers of victims, scores of martyrs. They say that every 12 months, 2,000 Libyans die in road accidents; 19,000 have broken limbs. Statistics of road accidents are published on television and in the newspapers every year, every month.

Reports say: Today 10 died in a road accident while on their way to a funeral; or today 15 died in a road accident when 2 cars were in a head-on collision while on their way to a circumcision ceremony. If it was said that such people had died in a fedayeen operation in Tel Aviv, 15 of them, then the whole world would be shaken. But, who except their kinfolk, is going to regret those who die in road accidents? No one. Let just 1,000 die in a historic, heroic action. If 2,000 people die thus, no one except their kinfolk will know about them. If we are meant to die, we will die; then our lives would have meaning.

You are free; you can stay in bed or sell frankincense and roses; or go to Saudi Arabia under the pretext of pilgrimage and minor pilgrimage. But religion is no longer religion, minor pilgrimage is no longer a minor pilgrimage, and pilgrimage is no longer pilgrimage. You may go and sleep in the streets of Turkey, Syria, and Greece. You can also go to Tunisia which has, thanks be to God, opened up its doors under the new regime. You can decide this, and I would be happy because a free people has decided so. You may understand what I mean and decide, on the contrary, to stay at home and save money for useful purposes. After deciding to carry out the revolutionary program, you would feel that for the first time you have put your feet on the correct path and your life would have meaning. Then you would deserve to defend it and die for its sake; you would have wanted something that has value in the world. The model state would begin in the world, the Jamahiriya, the state of the masses. There would be revolutions in the Arab homeland to imitate you. A serious youth would emerge saying: We want the Libyan model to be realized in our country.

In the future the easygoing lifestyle will end. But presently you are not a model at all. When you go to Saudi Arabia they see what the Libyans are buying and they might say: So these are the Libyans. They are silly and so is their revolution. Is this the Jamahiriya? People sleeping in the streets, carrying shopping bags? Is this how free citizens are? No, they might say; we do not want to be like the Libyans. This is what is happening now. A doctor comes from another country. He might say: Where is the revolutionary doctor—this one? I am better than him. I [words indistinct] my office in Germany better than you; I apply this system of yours and you are not applying it. Where is this revolutionary farming adviser? If they find you riding a horse, a bike, a donkey or driving a car on your way to teach peasants with the farm, the valley and the field as your school, they would say: How splendid; this is the country that sows seeds, builds, and has a valuable life.

After producing, consume and buy what you want. I tell you: If you want to buy silk, no one is saying that silk is prohibited and that you cannot wear it. No, wear it. But produce wool to sell and buy silk. Produce camel wool and sell it to buy silk. Produce goat hair, produce anything, sell it and buy something else. You want bananas, well, produce olives; sell olives and buy bananas. Who is going to prevent you? If you want a Mercedes car, go and buy one. Just produce something here. Produce chicken, honey, barley, sheep, camels; sell them and buy a Mercedes. No one would prevent you from doing so.

But if you say: Bring me bananas, bring me a Mercedes, bring me silk while I sit idly by. No, this is not feasible. There is no rain of gold or silver from heavens. Produce and you can buy anything from abroad. It is a misunderstanding to believe that it is prohibited to buy things. No, the question is not that of not importing this drink, clothes, tins, or equipment. No, it is not importing them that is the question, but that there is no production in return. If you produce you cannot say: Buy me this or that from oil money. No, we cannot sell oil and buy these things. These are desires and superfluous things. Produce something other than oil; sell it and buy these things.

Say: My children and I will wear only silk. By God, there will be no one to prevent you from doing so. But produce wool and say: I am selling this wool to buy silk. Who is going to prevent you from doing so? Sell wool for 1,000 dinars and buy silk for 1,000 dinars. Sell wool for 500 dinars and buy 500 dinars of silk. Who is going to prevent you? If you say: My children and I want to eat food from abroad only; we want European tinned food which contains nuclear radiation. That is it, you are free. You may die from nuclear radiation; but produce. Bring milk, butter, buttermilk, and olives and sell them and then import tinned food with the money. If you say, I want butter from Denmark, then you must produce Libyan butter and sell it to buy butter from Denmark. Who is going to prevent you? But you cannot say: No, I do not produce butter here but you should bring me



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butter from Denmark [words indistinct] How can one bring it for you? Denmark does not give things for free. Have you ever heard that Denmark has said: For the sake of God and on the occasion of the 'Ashura religious day I am sending butter to these Muslims. No, never. They do not have any 'Ashura in Denmark, sir. Regrettably, they do not have any 'Ashura. They do not know it at all. They know just money. Give them money and they give you cheese. Where do you get the money? Produce something, sell it, get money, and go to Denmark.

I am insisting on the consumer voucher that you have done away with. I am insisting on it at this stage and this is necessary. With the bulletin you only buy whatever you need. It happens that a group hoards market products in their homes and the rest are left without anything. This is what is happening now. We import enough products and then they disappear. I say to them: Why is there a shortage of shoes sometimes? What is the quantity that we consume? They say: We consume 3 million shoes a year. I ask them: How many did you import? They say: We have imported 3.25 million shoes. Then before half the year or two-thirds of the year is over, all the shoes are sold out because some people have bought more than they need.

Instead of buying 5 pairs of shoes, somebody buys 20. So it is clear. Suppose that you enter a cinema hall that has tickets for 1,000 viewers because it has 1,000 seats. They play the film. If you buy 1,000 tickets then you will be the only one sitting in the theater. Others come and are told: No tickets are left. This is ridiculous. One buys only one ticket. The state of the market is exactly like this. You must buy only what you need.

You are applying it, but when we talk to you about something like this you laugh. You laugh at somebody buying all the tickets and sitting on his own because he has money and there is no ban on buying any number of tickets. The man in question comes and says: How many tickets do you have? One thousand, he is told. And how much is a ticket? One dinar, he is told. Then he says: Here are 1,000 dinars; give me the tickets. The cinema officer does not care. He has 1,000 dinars, and he does not care if others come or not. The man says: I am staying on my own today in the cinema hall, watching the film on my own. Others come, 999 persons come; they stand up in a queue. The cinema officer says to them: There are no tickets. Where are they, they ask? And they are told: Somebody has bought them, and nothing prevents me from selling tickets. He gave me a price and I have sold all the tickets to him. The result is that you are prevented from seeing this film, and you are staying out. This is exactly the case when there is no organization. Enter the market. One thousand refrigerators are imported and you buy all of them. You can even smash them or throw them into the sea, so long as there is no one telling you that you must buy just one refrigerator, a voucher saying that you can buy only one.

Likewise, if tea, sugar, flour, or rice are imported, some think of buying the lot for themselves. They can do so, and if everyone buys for three instead of buying for one, then calculate: For every 1,000 buyers there will be 3,000 who are deprived of buying in just one municipal district. We would find 3,000 people shouting: There is a shortage! In fact there is no shortage because 1,000 persons have bought the shares of 3,000. As long as we permit someone to buy the shares of 3 persons, this is the same as 1,000 persons buying the shares of 3,000. In a whole city you will find more than 1 or 2 persons saying: Look, 3,000 people are shouting about shortages. No, products had been imported but 1,000 persons have bought the shares of the 3,000 in question, because nothing prevents the 1,000 from buying the shares of 3,000.

I am still insisting on this [consumer vouchers to fight hoarding], but you are free to decide. If there is a shortage of something it means that it is with the other person, your friend. Products have indeed been imported. Most products are available, but they disappeared here, inside, because of the absence of the organization I have told you about. I believe that you have understood the objective of the revolutionary program. It creates progress, provides human resources, makes everything work, makes men available, women replace them, and everyone will have something to do. Only those who are handicapped will be seated on chairs. For us, at this stage, he who stays seated in a chair or whose job requires a sitting position must be handicapped, a pregnant woman, or a woman who lives nearby [as heard]. But there is no need for an able-bodied man to be seated at work. He must use an axe, a tractor, a spraying machine, or anything else. This is the way if you want to build your country. It is a shame to see a strong man sitting 24 hours on a chair saying: And now we present to you a song by Fahd Ballan. Is this reasonable? This is ridiculous. You are right to laugh because this is not likely to create the future. How can an able-bodied man sit around and get a salary just by saying these words? This can be recorded on a cassette and then played automatically. Or bring a handicapped person who cannot work outside, if you need a person. A handicapped person in a wheelchair who would say: We present to you this or that, or we bring you the news bulletin. Or bring a woman who cannot go outside. Let her sit down.

All the factories, especially textiles and light and medium industries, must be completely occupied by women, and the offices there must be fully run by women. Likewise, women must be in the teaching and health sectors and in simple farming like gardens and green houses made of plastic and glass, including small farms. All this must be run by women. Cars inside the town are like coaches. They should be driven by women, not men. A car marked general public inside the cities must be driven by women, not men. They are like coaches. Buses inside towns are like coaches. Even a veiled woman can enter the bus, sit on the driver's seat, drive the bus, and stop and open the doors at bus stops without being seen by

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anyone or seeing anyone. Doors are open and closed and somebody at the back sells tickets. You can use a man for selling tickets or one of these women who sit on the pavements for small trades. Bring a veiled woman and let them drive buses. No one would see them at all. They would speak to no one, and they would have no relations with passengers. A woman sits down, takes the wheel, drives on, stops at bus stops, pushes a button, opens the doors, closes them, and then goes home, without any relations with passengers.

When you travel in airplanes or in a train, have you ever had a conversation with the aircraft captain or the driver of the train, or have you ever seen one of them at all? You have no relations with them. They have their private places where they are and one does not see them. They open and close doors; they take you from one stop to another and land at one airport from another and you never see them. If somebody asks you whether the pilot or the train driver is a man or a woman, you would say: I do not know. Black or white, you do not know. Tall or short, you cannot know. Likewise, concerning buses, if passengers are asked: Who has driven you, they would say, we do not know. Man or woman, they would say: We have not seen him. Tall or short, they would say: We have not seen. Black or white, they would say: We have not seen him. Passengers do not pay attention to the differences. All cars inside towns must be driven by women, because they are like coaches in streets; a woman driving a coach in a street. Why should a man drive a car? A dove can sit in it.

This program will make about half a million men available for work or fighting, and half a million women will replace men. Furthermore, this means economic revival, not only for the Jamahiriya but also for families, for every individual among you. They would have an income and action. Men come on foot, walking kilometers, to get a job. You have the opportunity to work. I want all Libyans to work and have salaries, with incomes, money. This is an occasion. A woman who says that her pension for her deceased husband and social security money are not enough and who has a large family should be allowed to work and get a salary. If she does not work, then there is farming land to be distributed, with a farm for everyone. All the land is there [words indistinct] the farming land which you are exploiting, as for the rest of the land, you control it with some person surrounding it with fences. I have already told you: Anyone in need of a farm should look for an abandoned one and take it over. If a palm tree is not maintained, he can take it over. If a palm tree has dates and its owner does not pick them, then the palm tree should be seized under the slogan: The land is the property of all.

Under the banner of the land belongs to all, all Libyans, everyone, has the right to exploit this to satisfy his particular needs. There is another way to exploit: to become partners. Then, depending on whether it is

services or production, as long as there is private partnership, leave Libyans out of it; set up a construction company but you must be partners in it—there will be employers and workers. Set up a cleaning company. Set up a home services company. All these you can set up; agriculture [words indistinct]. Who is preventing you?

There are proposed committees. I can see their benefit and you are free to discuss them. The training which was possible for the General People's Committee for Public Services, the training is—in my opinion people's committees and a general people's committee for training must be set up—vocational training. What do you call it? We have failed in training ourselves. In fact, we lack training. We are an illiterate people; backward, subjugated by colonialism, and made backward and ignorant by colonialism. We need to raise our proficiency through training, because those women who replace men, and men who have to do other kinds of work, need training in the new work. Therefore, this will be undertaken by people's committees everywhere, responsible to people's congresses, with specialist people. They will open training centers in every street; crash training, medium- and long-term training, and so on. This one will be trained in agriculture, that one in industry, the other in cleaning and so on; men and women. Therefore, especially if we decide on this revolutionary program, we would need to set up people's committees for training and a general people's committee for training.

[Word indistinct] and maritime sectors are very important but are neglected; from fishing, sponge harvesting, salt, fish breeding in lakes, ponds, and gulfs. All these resources are neglected now, because they are attached to other authorities which do not pay attention to them. In my opinion there should be a special independent authority for sea resources; from fish, sponge, and salt, to other things including fish breeding. Fish must be bred and not looked for in the depth of the seas. They are bred in the same way as [words indistinct].

There is also tourism and antiquities. Whether there will be a committee or not is another question but there should be an authority. You may object to people's committees of tourism and antiquities. This is a Mediterranean country and it must be a country of tourism. You have oil and have forgotten. Our neighboring countries are tourist countries and tourism brings in much income. There are plans to build tourist towns on the Libyan coast. Do you not like Europe and young Europeans? All right, it is possible to bring Europe to the Libyan coast. Tourist towns will be built in partnership with European firms on the Libyan coast. You can bring Europe to them; you can bring whatever you like in Europe to these towns. You can bring in anything that prompts you to go abroad. These tourist towns are not useless things. You have seen nightclubs [words indistinct] various lights, candy, and photographs. What else is there in tourist towns? You can bring Europe to the Libyan coast. This is not a problem, but an authority has to be responsible for tourism and antiquities.

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Libya is internationally renowned for its antiquities and the antiquities are being abused. It is another question if you intend to destroy what has been left by predecessors. If you say we want to wipe out antiquities in North Africa, we will do it. Pass a resolution to destroy them and (Sibratah), (Libdah), Shahhat, (Jirmah), Bani Walid, and all the other places where there are antiquities will be destroyed. We will not leave Phoenician, Teutonic, Greek, Roman, Islamic, or other antiquities. There may be a resolution of this kind to wipe out antiquities. Then let us do it properly and wipe everything out completely. This may be better than the way they have been mishandled; stones from archeological sites have been taken for graves and agricultural projects. What is this? These have great historical and cultural value, and are neglected in this way.

Then there is the compulsory service law. The resolutions of the people's congresses can draft this law at this session, so that it can be implemented. I see that there are other people's committees which are necessary—in fact this program has failed due to the fact that there is no group taking it into consideration. I mean by this the mass mobilization and the revolutionary morale guidance. People's committees and a general people's committee should be established to handle this task.

What I have said about the revolutionary program requires people to begin to mobilize the masses every day. They should do so by every means, both visual and audio. We pin great hopes on them. In fact, we lack popular and mass mobilization; we lack revolutionary and morale guidance. We all fight illiteracy and backwardness. These committees can be established—the committees for mobilization and training and for protecting the marine wealth. As for tourism and antiquities, it is up to you to decide whether there should be committees to look after them or not. You are free to decide. But they should be independent.

Among the things which we said should be reviewed is what we said at Al-Zawiyah and the speeches we made at the sixth and 11th anniversaries about [words indistinct] and cost.

Political issues should be submitted to the people's congresses so that they can express their views on them. Among them is the dirty Amman conspiracy conference and its consequences. Had I been president of a republic or if I was the one who makes decisions in Libya, I would have immediately expelled the embassies of the Arab states which resumed their relations with the traitorous regime in Egypt. But because authority rests with the people's congresses, this matter is up to them. As far as I am concerned, I would prefer to see Libyan relations with all the Arab states broken because of this issue rather than see Libya have relations with all the Arab states at the expense of this issue.

The story you hear about Libya being isolated or not isolated—to hell with all that; all that is mere propaganda and empty words. The phrase Libya is isolated is a conspiracy whose aim is to subjugate you and make you submissive so that you will have dirty relations with reaction, Zionism, and imperialism and not isolate yourselves. If we do not isolate ourselves from this dirty camp, from whom should we isolate ourselves? He who is isolated is isolated by the people; we have the people on our side. If there are 20 or 15 traitorous rulers with whom we are in a state of enmity, does this mean that we are isolated? On the contrary! It means that we are against them but with the masses. The more we distance ourselves from the rulers, the closer we come to the Arab masses.

All the Arab peoples are with us. This stance will be appreciated by the Arab nation and its revolutionary forces, as well as by the Palestinian people and the revolutionary forces in the Palestinian resistance—and not the forces which are compromising. [applause]. What does it mean if we do not have relations with Kuwait or Saudi Arabia? What has Kuwait or Saudi Arabia done for us? Their money goes to the United States and then to Israel. Have they contributed to the great man-made river in Libya? Not a penny! Did they participate with you in the fortification of the coast? On the contrary, they give their money to the camp which is hostile to you in Chad so that it can be used in the fight against you. They are totally under U.S. control.

What is the benefit of having relations with these states, which are mere U.S. colonies? When they become liberated then we will have relations with them. What benefits do we derive from them? What is the good behind having an embassy here for Kuwait, or Saudi Arabia, or the UAE, or Bahrain, and for us to have a people's bureau in each of these states? A boycott is far better than this. It is better to determine our relations vis-a-vis this dirty conspiracy.

Now, when you say Egypt you mean Israel; and when you say Israel, you mean Egypt. An author once wrote that Egypt should be called Misrael [meaning Egypt-Israel]. He wrote that we should not say Egypt and Israel, but Misrael. This is the state of Misrael. Those who resumed relations with Egypt today are in fact preparing to recognize the enemy tomorrow.

Naturally, you are free. It is possible that the people's congress may have other views. But I say that if I had the power in my hand, I would have from the first day expelled the embassies in Libya which represent the states that have resumed relations with Egypt. See how quick they were! They could not wait. Each one followed the other. To see them like that you would have thought that they were racing each other to liberate Palestine. Were they forced to do so? They could not wait long enough. They did not wait for 1 or 2 years. Even before they arrived back in their own countries they began to send cables declaring the resumption of their relations.

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Why are you so hypocritical towards your own peoples and towards the Arab nation, you traitors! You all like the Egyptian regime and want to resume relations with it. But you were shy.

Look at them and see how they have exposed themselves. Even before they returned from Amman they resumed their relations with Egypt. This means that they had wanted this resumption of relations before, but did not have the courage to do so. Why did they break off relations with Egypt during the era of 'Abd al-Nasir? Naturally, because Egypt today is different from the Egypt of yesterday. Why did they have amiable relations with Iran when there was the shah, the agent of the United States and Zionism? And now they are hostile to Iran. We told them to fight the shah. Did not the shah attack them; did he not occupy the Arab islands in the Arabian Gulf? Why did they not fight him? He attacked them and occupied the Greater and Lesser Tunbs. We said to them: Let us fight him. But they said: No, we are Muslim brethren. When the shah was in power, they were Muslims; and now when there is a revolution in Iran, are they no longer Muslims? Now the Iranians are Persians and we are Arabs?

They follow the U.S. line. When the United States was against 'Abd al-Nasir, they were against Egypt.

When the United States was against 'Abd al-Nasir, they turned against Egypt and hated it. Now that the United States has colonized Egypt, they have sided with Egypt. They love Egypt, although all their lives they hated Egypt. But, thank God, it has transpired that they can be led by none other than Egypt. When 'Abd al-Nasir was there in Egypt, they hated 'Abd al-Nasir because he was the champion of liberation and they were slaves. Now the truth has come out: Egypt is their leader. They need Muhammad 'Ali [the founder of Khedevi Dynasty in Egypt] in Egypt to turn them into colonies. All these regions were colonies for Muhammad 'Ali. I feel spite for them. I hope all these statelets become satellites of Egypt; so I do not care about relations with them. But to sever relations with them, with whom shall we sever them: the colonies?

I am happy that Egypt has become the leader and the commander. The present Egyptian president might be a traitor, but tomorrow someone else might come who will be like 'Abd al-Nasir. We want the Egyptian president to be the president of the Arabs. Let him smear their noses in the dust. They used to say Egypt should not be our leader, now they have found out that only Egypt can lead them.

I am happy; I am happy to see the Egyptian president become the president of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, Morocco, and Jordan. Today Husni Mubarak is their president, but tomorrow another one might come

who would not be Husni Mubarak. But if a liberator emerges, they will deny him and he will not be recognized. It is a matter of subservience and treason, and not an Egyptian issue.

However, they have made Egypt their leader and commander. But we want them to keep it up, for then, after Egypt is liberated, they will not be able to say that they do not want Egypt. Egypt is our vanguard and the leader. I do not want them to come later and say Egypt is just like us. How can Egypt be like you, when you cannot live for 10 years without Egypt? We tell them: Do not feel so happy about rushing to Egypt, because it is now a U.S. colony and an Israeli colony. Tomorrow Egypt will be liberated. We benefit from Egypt's domination of them. God willing, tomorrow Egypt will be free and Egypt's leadership will be established. Libya and Egypt might unite as one state which will become the leader of those subordinates. It is better for them to be subservient to Egypt rather than subservient to the shah of Iran.

When 'Abd al-Nasir was leading the liberation battle, they went to the shah of Iran saying: He is our Muslim brother. Well, even Khomeyni is a Muslim brother. Why? Because he has been reading the Koran since he was 15. Is not Khomeyni a Muslim? He is a Muslim. Why do they not consider him a Muslim brother now? The shah was considered a Muslim brother. This type of Islam makes one lose faith in Islam. This is Islam American style. When the United States was with Iran, Iran was considered Muslim, and we as Muslims were its brothers. When the United States turned against Iran, Iran was no longer considered Muslim, and we were against it.

Thus Muhammad has become the Yankee. The American Yankees have become Muhammad. They are the ones who tell us who is a Muslim and who is not, who is your brother in religion and who is not your brother in religion. What a shame and disgrace. It is very disgraceful to a country like Libya to have relations with the filthy regimes or to have relations with these traitorous regimes. Only the enemy benefits from them. If this is the situation, then we can do without them. [Chants of "If the whole world becomes our enemy, we will never abandon our principles"]

Of course this matter is left for the people's congresses to decide. The decision is not mine. I said that if I had the decision-making authority, I would have expelled their embassies this very day, as there is no use to be derived from them at all.

Be on the alert with regard to what they say about you isolating yourselves. They want you to submit and to abandon your pride and recognize the Egyptian regime and the Saudi regime, and to establish relations with reaction and establish relations with the United States. They say Libya is isolated. It is natural for you to isolate yourself from your enemy. It is an honor for you to break relations with the traitor and the evil. Are we seeking

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relationships of any sort or are we taking a serious stance toward history? The correct attitude is that of resisting the United States, breaking with the United States, breaking with the reactionary regime, and resisting the reactionary regimes. This is the correct stance. Replace this with relationships with them? What do we need relationships with them for? They are the ones who benefit from relations with us. They exploit it before their peoples and the secret revolutionary forces within their peoples. They tell them we have relations with Al-Qadhafi and we have relations with Libya, and they visit me and us in order to prolong their lives. If they turn against us, they [the secret revolutionary forces] will tell them: You are reactionaries and traitors and we will revolt against you.

This is exactly as in the days of 'Abd al-Nasir. They appeased him. They established relations with 'Abd al-Nasir in order to satisfy the secret revolutionary forces so that they would not be angry with them, for those who antagonized 'Abd al-Nasir brought upon themselves the wrath of the revolutionary forces. Even now, those who antagonize Libya anger the revolutionary forces in their countries. They try to maintain relations with Libya. They are the ones benefiting, not we. On the contrary, relations with them mutilate us before the revolutionary forces of the world and in the Arab world, and in the eyes of the secret revolutionary forces in their own countries. Relations with them harm us. I tell you these relations are not beneficial to us.

What affected the Israelis with whom they severed relations for 40 years? What has happened to them? Now they are subservient to Israel. They severed relations with Egypt for 10 years. What harm has that done to Egypt? Now they have become subservient to it. It is like Bourguiba said: Zero plus zero plus zero equals zero. Add the donkey stable to Kuwait, to Saudi Arabia, to Abu Dhabi, and so forth, and Morocco, and what you get is zero. What do you need with these zeros?

These are dead forces until they are liberated. During talks with Iranian President Khamene'i, we disagreed when he used the term Persian Gulf. I told him listen, if you say the Persian Gulf I will say the Arabian Gulf. He answered me saying: Listen, the day when the Arab side in the Gulf becomes revolutionary like us, you may then call it the Arabian Gulf, the Kuwaiti Gulf, call it what you like; we have no objection, when the Arabs, who are on the other side of the Gulf are liberated from U.S. domination, to calling it the Arabian Gulf. As for the time being, the Arab quarter...[Al-Qadhafi changes thought] I told him even the Greater Tunb and Lesser Tunb were occupied by the shah; therefore, you should withdraw from them. He asked: Who shall I give them to? I said give them to the Arabs. You mean to the Americans? he replied. If you, Al-Qadhafi, agree that the Greater Tunb and Lesser Tunb become U.S. bases, this is something new. If you want these islands to remain liberated, leave them to Iran, until the Arabs liberate themselves from the United States, then we will

hand them over to the one who is free, and ask him to take them so that they will not become U.S. bases. This is in fact like Aozou, because if we give Aozou to Chad it might become a base for the United States, or the Israelis, or NATO, or France, and could represent a serious threat to you and to the whole region in North Africa.

When Chad becomes free, I will not be interested in it because Aozou is there. I will not be interested in whether Aozou is Libyan or Chadian; this will not bother me at all. However, now there is a grave danger. President Khamene'i himself put this logic to me. He told me that when the Arabs are liberated from the United States, they can take the Gulf islands that were occupied by the shah; but if I hand them over now, who shall I hand them over to? Do you want me to give them to the United States? This is true, and he is right.

On this occasion, I would like to greet the new era in Tunisia. [applause] I really believe that a new era has begun in Tunisia, and an old era has lapsed; an era which seriously harmed relations of brotherhood and neighborhood—it disavowed the charters and agreements, it harmed the Tunisian people by deciding to boycott its fraternal Libyan people. Those who clapped for and hailed those dreadful acts, all that harmed relations between neighbors and brothers, is finished. Thank God, we have lived until we have witnessed the establishment of the new era in Tunisia. We have witnessed the defeat of the enemies of the Tunisian peoples, the foes of the Libyan peoples, the enemies of the Jerba Declaration and the enemies of the Arab nation, brotherhood, and good neighborhood. Some of them are now runaways and prisoners. Thank God, this is a victory from God, which was realised by the Tunisian national forces without any outside intervention, or plotting or any misdeed, thus proving that scheming beyond the borders and plotting from outside does not change anything. When the free sons of Tunisia wanted change and to build a new era, they carried out change, receiving orders from nobody.

We should extend our helping hand to our brothers in Tunisia and to the brotherly Tunisian people, to give them whatever they need to build their new era, to build their new era which will be a gain for us if order prevails for these brothers. Our gain now is to emphasize the new era in Tunisia, because it is an era void of complexes, void of sensitivities, void of bad ulterior motives. The persons who have assumed responsibility do not hate Libya, they do not hate their Libyan brothers, they have no complexes. For us their files are blank. With regard to matters inside Tunisia, this concerns our Tunisian brothers. They are to evaluate each other. We should open a new page with Tunisia; a new phase should be established with Tunisia along the path of the common struggle for Arab unity. We should forget the past completely; we should remember only the positive things like the Jerba Declaration.

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As for the Gulf war, in the past I spoke about the political issues that might be discussed by the people's congresses; the point of view on this is clear. In fact, this war, specifically its continuation between Iran and Iraq, has only served the United States and the Israelis, and now it is serving the treacherous regime in Egypt. Perhaps, had it not been for the Iraq-Iran war, these reactionary states would not have rushed into resuming their diplomatic relations with the treacherous regime in Egypt. They are afraid of Iran, they are afraid of the war, consequently they immediately resumed relations seeking shelter through Egypt—but one who does not possess something cannot give it away [Arab saying]. Egypt itself is defeated, it has lost its dignity, its regime has squandered the dignity of Egypt, it has lost Sinai which is now under international and U.S. domination, and Egyptians are not allowed to visit it. Egypt, which was defeated in the war against the Israelis and the Americans, cannot protect Kuwait or the Gulf.

Nevertheless, the continuation of this war is in reality a plot against Islam, Arabism, and Palestine. Pressure should be kept specifically on the Iranian side to put an end to its war against Iraq. With regard to its war against other states, it could be appropriately placed. These countries are personally involved in the war; these states are U.S. bases and colonies. They have plotted against Iranian oil and the Iranian Revolution, they allied themselves with the United States, therefore they deserve what they are getting. As for the war between Iran and Iraq it should be halted; its continuation benefits the Israelis and the Americans, it has now benefitted the treacherous regime in Egypt. The Libyan people should exercise all efforts with Iranian people to that end.

Therefore, during our upcoming meetings we will decide external policy; during this period we should bolster relations with the world's progressive forces and the forces that are struggling with us against imperialism led by the United States. We should consolidate our relations with the Soviet Union, socialist countries, and African progressive countries. We should not view them traditionally as we did in the past. In the light of recent developments, there should be a rallying of forces that are united by common aims, or at least they should further their relations.

We and the Soviet Union and the socialist community are linked by joint objectives, by the struggle against the United States, against imperialism, against war, against nuclear armament, and for peace, for freedom, for socialism. These are joint objectives that link us. Therefore, we must not give away friendship with these forces; we must further promote our relationship with all these states. We deal with them as separate states to begin with and then as a socialist camp as a whole. We deal with them separately, state by state, at the beginning, including the Soviet Union. We look at them first on a bilateral basis, and then as a whole. Likewise with the African progressive forces, because the United States and France, as imperialist forces, have set the African reactionary forces

against us, making them into an anti-Libyan alliance. This includes, for instance, Zaire, the Egyptian regime, the previous Numaryi regime in Sudan, Central Africa, Cameroon—the states that have recognised the Zionist enemy and which are not in the imperialist French and U.S. orbit. They are all now fighting in Chad against us.

Therefore, we in turn must reinforce our relations with the African progressive countries, and extend to them a helping hand, because this is in our interests. When you help a state it is not for nothing. You help a state for your own interests, so that it may stand by your side. We stand with them so that they may stand with us. There is a common interest for the two sides to stand with each other.

Concerning foreign relations, they are studied. They are not established by directives. They are studied with precision and calm. There are matters we deal with promptly, and others which we tackle without hurry. Regarding Egypt, we do not need it, even if we boycott it. There is a desert and the great sand dunes between it and us. It is Egypt that needs us. We do not need these states that have received orders from the United States and resumed relations with the Egyptian regime. As far as we are concerned, we do not receive orders from the United States. At the same time, we do not need it; Egypt is the one that needs Libya in its present situation. What would Egypt offer to Libya? Nothing. It is Libya that has something to offer to Egypt. Egypt's regime will end from inside, like Al-Sadat ended, like Faruq finished.

Besides, we challenge them. What would Egypt offer Mauritania, which has resumed relations with it? Nothing. Likewise, Egypt cannot defend Kuwait because it cannot even defend the Suez Canal. This is simply the case of colonies aligning themselves with one another in one alliance under U.S. command.

When you debate relations with the socialist states and the USSR, you should discuss them deeply and seriously. There is no harm, given that we are friends of the Soviet Union, to discuss it sharply, to reproach it, to point out what we need and what its benefit is, etc. We have rendered a great service to the socialist community, to the cause of peace, to the Soviet Union, because the liberation of Libya from U.S. and British bases has given breathing space to the Soviet Union. Bases used to form a line from Morocco to Libya, to Egypt, to occupied Palestine, to Turkey. All these used to form a single chain against the Soviet Union. We broke this chain by liberating 2,000 kilometers of Mediterranean coast. Libya had, in other words, inflicted great damage to imperialism with the outbreak of the revolution. It offered a great service to the Soviet Union and the socialist community, which were the target of imperialism through its occupation of Libya and its advance toward them in order to surround them.

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Furthermore, Libya is a rich state, and the Soviet Union would benefit if Libya is an economic partner and a client of the Soviet Union. Libya is not a state which begs or needs assistance. Therefore, the Soviet Union has benefited from Libya, which is a partner that benefits the Soviet Union. So, we must also benefit from the Soviet Union. We address the Soviet Union with frankness, clarity, and force. All this must be decided at the people's congresses in the way you deem fit.

There is a remark which may not at all be related to these grave issues which I have tackled, but it is related to the people's congresses in any of their sessions. Naturally we need a (?regrading) operation: We have been tackling international issues, and we are going to go down to an extremely social matter. This preamble is necessary before I tackle it, because a law must be enacted by the people's congresses or any legislative body which forbids the spread, the existence of a despicable social phenomena which ought not to exist: A teacher marrying his pupil. Such things are prohibited in many countries. Relations of this kind are not permitted. A doctor marrying his nurse; an officer wedding the female conscript in his unit or detachment. If you have not paid attention to these things they create serious relations likely to [words indistinct]. This is not permissible. In certain eras and in certain cultures these things used to be punished by stoning the person to death. The punishment used to be stoning to death.

This is not permissible at all. If you are a teacher teaching girls and then you show bias in favor of one of them because you want to marry her, then you are no longer fair. You may ensure her passage to the upper class; you may give her unfair marks. One must be neutral in such circumstances. No, this is not permissible. This is a great social crime. Like an officer with a unit of female conscripts in front of him who shows bias toward one of them, this is not feasible. Even in fighting: He may send in one of the girls and not the other one. The doctor has nurses working with him. The marriage of a student to a student, a lecturer to a lecturer, a doctor to a doctor or an officer to an officer is alright because these are equal relationships, while the other kind of relationships cause imbalance. I have noticed that you are not aware of this phenomenon and it is spreading in Libyan society. I have seen it and I was surprised because these kinds of things are disapproved of and I did not think they were happening. However, if they are happening then they must be prohibited. These and like practices should be prohibited with a severe punishment. Even before Islam there existed certain practices; however, when Islam prevailed it prohibited these practices.

What has been done is done but there must be no more. We are not saying that those who got married should divorce. No. What we are saying is that from now on these practices must not happen. In fact it indicates moral deterioration and a decline in social conditions. It indicates that all social standards are upset if it happens in the society. This question you cannot solve except by

law, so that when someone comes to the notary or to the court to get married saying that this is my student, or my enlisted soldier, or my secretary, it will be forbidden. If a head of a firm intends to marry one of his female employees, it should be forbidden because he will be biased toward her and the entire transactions of the firm will be spoiled. These practices are forbidden in many countries, even in Europe which is not Muslim.

This concerns not only Islam; it is a social question. Many countries forbid marriage to one's secretary and consider it a major crime. Even by having an affair with his secretary, he would fall socially, politically, and in all aspects. How could a teacher marry one of his students? It is unreasonable. That is it, he becomes unsuitable to teach the class.

Well, I have finished my comments. Thus you will discuss and draft your agenda. However, what concerns me, after this encounter, is that I want to draw the attention of the revolutionary committees to urging the masses to full mobilization, to hold the people's conference on a large scale, and to take adequate time to discuss the revolutionary program in order to implement it democratically or to abandon it democratically—it is the same thing.

We emphasize the declaration of freedom. Forward and the struggle continues. [chants]

### Comparison of Al-Qadhdhafi Interview on Issues

Tripoli Domestic Service in Arabic at 1330 GMT on 1 December carries a report on an interview with Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi by French television's Channel Five. The Tripoli Domestic report has been compared with the Tripoli JANA Arabic version published in the 30 November Near East & South Asia *Daily Report*, pages 14 and 15, revealing the following variations in the Tripoli radio version:

Page 14, column two, paragraph two, end of sentence one to beginning of sentence two reads: ...establishment of peace. I am among those who led the campaign in the world against these missiles. I am still leading this campaign for the sake of peace, the elimination of missiles, the complete elimination of nuclear arms in the world, complete disarmament, and even the elimination of armies and governments and the establishment of the Jamahiriyah in the world so that perpetual peace is established among peoples. However, it is... (adding sentences)

Same page, same column, same paragraph, sentence five reads: My people, the Chadian people, the Nicaraguan people, the Lebanese peoples, the Syrian people, the Sudanese, and... (adding words)



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Same page, same column, same paragraph, last sentence reads: ...agreement becomes collective, and so that we would all contribute to an international detente and peace. (adding words)

Same page, same column, paragraph three, first sentence reads: ...have heard rumors spread by the English about this issue. However, the struggle... (adding words)

Same page, same column, same paragraph, sentence six reads: ...to be just. The Irish people have paid the price of the lives of their sons, generation after generation. I support such a cause and the Irish... (changing punctuation and adding sentences)

Same page, same column, paragraph four, end of sentence two to beginning of sentence three reads: ...colonized by Britain. The Irish are fighting in order to free their country from the unjustified British hegemony, which is a religiously based effort to colonize the north of Ireland. Ireland should be united. I am, therefore,... (adding sentences)

Same page, last paragraph, last sentence reads: ...the world's people. The French people should realize that its sons are dying in regions in which they have no interest. (adding sentence)

Page 15, column one, paragraph two, sentence three to beginning of sentence five reads: Europe has involved itself in the problems of the Middle East, the Arab region, and the Third World, particularly the Arab countries. Consequently it is paying the price for embroiling itself in our problems because it shelters terrorists; the terrorists seek refuge in Europe, which protects them with its police and shelters them. Thus terrorism moved to Europe. To avoid these... (rewording sentences and adding sentence)

Same page, same column, same paragraph, sentence six reads: The proof for that is that there is a group of Libyans and Syrians, wanted by Interpol, who are criminals and who carry out sabotage, terrorism, robbery, counterfeiting, and arms and drug sales. (rewording and adding to sentence)

Same page, same column, same paragraph, end of sentence eight reads: ...and find solutions to the existing problems between us and the Europeans. We agree on noninterference in internal affairs and that every one of us hands over what he has [as heard]. Even the hostage... (adding words and new sentence)

Same page, same column, paragraph six, end of sentence two to sentence three reads: ...and tribal one. The solution is that all these tribes should take part in ruling Chad, because the one ruling Chad now is one side from one tribe. The heart of... (adding sentence)

## Mauritania

### 11 Receive Death Sentence for Plotting Coup

AB012053 Libreville Africa No 1 in French  
1830 GMT 1 Dec 87

[Excerpt] In Mauritania, 11 of the 51 persons on trial since 18 November for the abortive coup against the Nouakchott regime have been sentenced to death. The death sentence was pronounced against 11 of the 51 people who were involved in the plot uncovered on 22 October, a plot intended to overthrow President Maaouya Ould Sid' Ahmed Taya. Others were condemned to life imprisonment with hard labor. The State Security Court, which began its hearings on 18 November, was scheduled to hear the arguments of the defense today. [passage omitted]

### Paper Urges 'True Dialogue' Between Races

AB011640 Paris AFP in French 1800 GMT 30 Nov 87

[Text] Dakar, 30 Nov (AFP)—The urgency of "initiating a serious debate on Mauritanian national and social issues" was underlined today by the Muslim Senegalese weekly *Wal Fadjri* [words indistinct] on the 22 October coup attempt in Mauritania. About 50 Army officers and noncommissioned officers belonging to the Toucouleurs black African ethnic group were arrested after the [words indistinct].

"The law, which is one and indivisible, must be applied, but in addition, it is imperative that a true dialogue be established between the various groups of the nation. To shed blood, even in the name of the law, will not serve as an example but will reduce the chances for a dialogue," the paper added. "Each and every one," it continued, "must do everything possible so that discussions can at least begin. Without this, a great void will be left which could be exploited by extremists." *Wal Fadjri*, in conclusion, stressed that "the solution to the crisis in Mauritanian society does not lie in rejecting one race or culture in favor of another. It can be found in the ability and desire of each and every one to live together in respect and equality."

## Sudan

### Egyptian Premier Makes Khartoum Stopover

JN011800 Khartoum SUNA in English 1735 GMT  
1 Dec 87

[Text] Khartoum, Dec. 1st (SUNA)—Egyptian Prime Minister Dr 'Atif Sidqi made a stopover at Khartoum airport, here Tuesday, coming from Ethiopia where he attended the extraordinary African economic summit conference held in Addis Ababa between Nov. 30th and Dec. 1st on African countries debts. The Egyptian premier was greeted and seen off at the airport by his Sudanese counterpart Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi and minister of foreign affairs, Dr. Ma'mun Sanadah. Dr Sidqi described

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as "extremely positive" the conference's results saying that it was the first time that African countries stand together and call for radical solutions to Africa's foreign debts problem.

In a press statement at the airport, Dr. 'Atif Sidqi said the conference appealed on lending countries and organizations to work for lessening the burden of debts whether by reducing debts profits or by broadening the grace periods. The conference also demanded the rich countries to help in ameliorating rates of trade exchange in a way that serves economies of underdeveloped countries.

The Egyptian Premier Dr. 'Atif Sidqi said the underdeveloped African countries affirmed that they would work for developing their economies on great rates and accept foreign credits only in the light of their development needs, to avoid increases in the debts services. Dr. Sidqi pinpointed that an agreement was reached in the conference that the Organization of African Unity's Headquarters should launch a call for convening of an international conference to tackle the problem of Africa's debts, pointing out that the Addis Ababa economic summit was attended by the indebted countries only and that resolving the issue requires understanding of lending countries and organizations.

Dr. Sidqi who said that the call for the international conference would be launched so that the conference be held by 1988, expressed hopes that the conference will be able to find suitable solutions to this problem and adopt the African countries' view over the issue of debts formulated at Addis Ababa conference.

**On Al-Mahdi, Mengistu Meeting**  
*JN011818 Khartoum SUNA in English 1740 GMT*  
1 Dec 87

[Text] Khartoum, Dec—1—(SUNA)—A joint meeting between Premier Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi and the Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam will take place shortly, Egyptian Prime Minister 'Atif Sidqi announced. Sidqi, who stopped over at Khartoum airport today returning from Ethiopia where he participated in the African economic summit said following a meeting with Al-Mahdi, a date for the expected encounter between Al-Mahdi and Mengistu will be fixed shortly.

The Egyptian prime minister said Al-Mahdi and the Ethiopian leader have consented to the reconciliation meeting, which he carried out in the name of Egypt and its President Husni Mubarak, to preserve the security of the region and to stop escalating conflict between the two neighbouring countries.

Al-Mahdi, in a press statement following his meeting with Sidqi expressed Sudan Government and people thanks to the Egyptian Government for its deep concern over the problems and security of Sudan. He described the Egyptian concern over Sudan security as natural.

"We expected reviewing all the issues and problems between Sudan and Ethiopia to reach a just peace" Al-Mahdi said, confirming that peace is always an outcome of such encounter.

**Sanadah on Eritrea 'Problem,' Ethiopian Clash**  
*JN011517 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1050 GMT*  
1 Dec 87

[Text] Khartoum, 1 Dec (SUNA)—Foreign Minister Dr Ma'mun Sanadah will leave for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on 5 December at the invitation of His Royal Highness Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal, Saudi foreign minister.

In a statement to *Al-Ayyam*, the minister noted that current developments, especially the occupation of the Kurmuk region and Ethiopia's role in this, will comprise a great portion of his talks with Saudi officials. He added that these discussions will also cover bilateral relations, especially economic ties. He noted added that after his return from Saudi Arabia, he will visit Kuwait at the invitation of its foreign minister. Sanadah indicated that the two visits come under the framework of the Arab and African efforts of Sudan to explain the Ethiopian role in the Kurmuk attack.

As for the Sudanese stand on the Eritrean problem, the foreign minister reiterated that the Eritrean presence in Sudan is no larger than that of refugees, who are additionally like all other refugees. He affirmed that Sudan is not supporting the Eritrean refugees militarily, and that it is not supplying them with weapons or [word indistinct]

In discussing the reactions of Arab and African states informed by Sudan on the Ethiopian aggression, the minister stated that the first positive response came from Egypt. He added that this reaction was represented by the recent visit to Sudan by Egyptian Prime Minister Dr 'Atif Sidqi, as well as by the Egyptian minister's talks with officials on this issue. Sanadah noted that Sudan will lodge official protests with the United Nations, the Arab League, and the OAU on the issue over the next 2 days.

**Communist Head Urges 'Recapture' of Kurmuk**  
*JN291824 Khartoum SUNA in English 1750 GMT*  
29 Nov 87

[Text] Khartoum, Nov. 29 (SUNA)—Secretary General of the Sudanese Communist Party "SCP" Muhammad Ibrahim Nugud has welcomed the Council of the States initiative which calls for backing the Armed Forces in its battle to recapture Kurmuk town occupied recently by Sudan People's Liberation Movement "SPLM". Nugud, in a press statement following a meeting with the Council of the State here today, said the SCP will not allow exploiting the slogan of backing the Armed Forces in political bargainings that lead to a military coup.